

THE QUARTERLY OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES
IN PALESTINE

VOL. IV. NO. 3

JERUSALEM
PUBLISHED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF
PALESTINE BY HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON, E.C. 4

1934

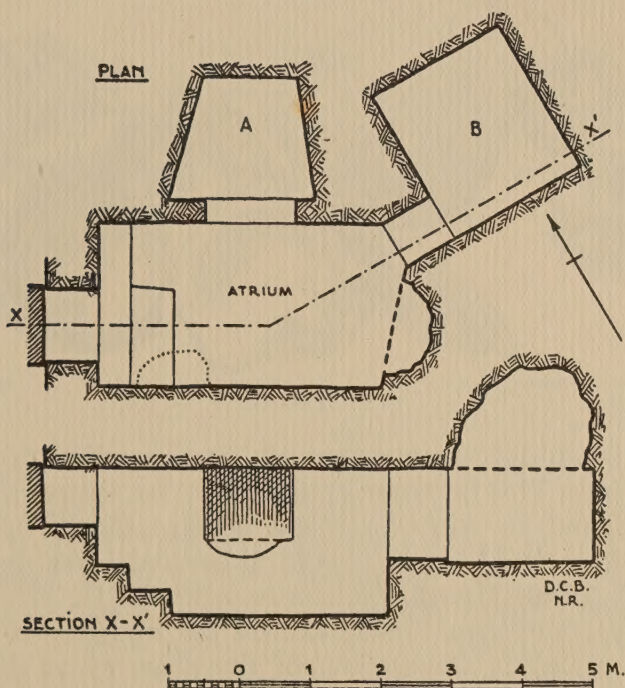
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AN EARLY IRON AGE TOMB AT EZ ZĀHIRIYYE

WHILE a certain fellah (peasant) was levelling a small plot of land at ez Zāhiriyye, a village 22 km. from Hebron, on the Hebron-Beersheba road, the ground gave way under him and he fell into an ancient rock-cut tomb-cave. The discovery was reported to the Department of Antiquities and later the cave was excavated.

EARLY IRON AGE TOMB-CAVE EZ ZĀHIRIYYE.



The cave was irregularly cut in limestone rock and consisted of an atrium and two burial chambers (see plan and section). Originally, access (to the cave) was gained by a door in the north-west side, and a flight of three steps. The door was found blocked by large slabs of stone at the time of the excavation, clearing operations being carried on through the newly formed hole in the roof.

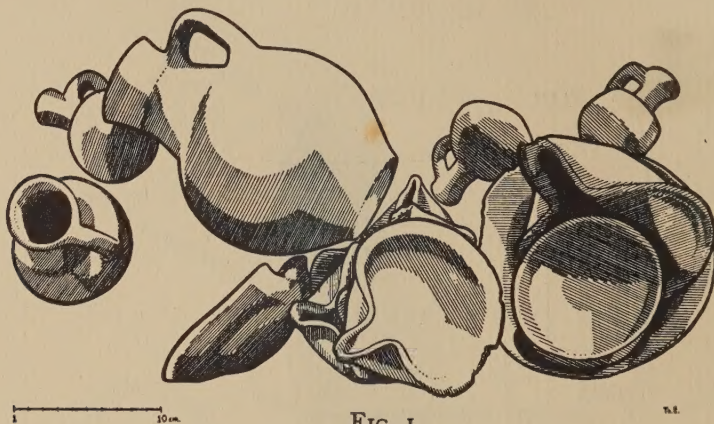
The continued action of water had decomposed the rock into flint globules and chalk, with the result that large sections of it had crumbled from the roof and disturbed the deposits in the atrium, as well as the burial chambers.

D. C. BARAMKI

The atrium contained only pottery (Pl. LXI, 1) and no bones.

Chamber A contained a few pots (Pl. LXII, 2) grouped mostly at the end farthest from the door. Human skeletons lay along the sides, but the chamber had been considerably disturbed by the fallen rock.

At the entrance of Chamber B there were several lamps and pots (Pl. LXI, 2) arranged as shown in Fig. 1. Under them, and all along the south and east sides of the chamber, disturbed and decomposed human bones were found. Near the middle of the west side, a burnished juglet figurine of Astarte



(Pl. LXIV, 1) lay upright against the wall. It is complete except for a small break in the rim. This important object may be compared to anthropomorphic pots found at 'Ain Shems and Beisān,¹ though no similar vessel in the Astarte form has been previously discovered. Near by, to the north, some pottery was found arranged in a row (Pl. LXII, 3). More pottery, including lamps, and four bronze anklets lay in front of the east wall (Pl. LXII, 2). Possibly the sections of the tibiae where the anklets were placed had crumbled to dust by the weight of stones falling from the roof. Fragments of bone occurred all over the chamber in appreciable quantities. Other pottery was found scattered over the whole floor of the cave (Pl. LXIII).

The pottery definitely belongs to the Early Iron Age; the first burials were probably made about 1000 B.C., but the tomb remained in use for some time during the Iron Age.²

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¹ Cf. *PEF Annual*, 1912-13, Pl. XLVIII; *The Museum Journal*, Vol. XX, (1929), p. 64.

² The ware and shapes of the pottery in Tomb I at 'Ain Shems closely resemble those found in Chamber B. Cf. *PEF Annual*, 1912-13, Pls. XXII and XXIV. The scarabs found in that tomb belong to the XXth-XXIInd Dynasties.



1. POTTERY FROM ATRIUM



2. POTTERY FROM ENTRANCE OF CHAMBER B

EARLY IRON AGE TOMB AT EZ ZĀHIRIYYE



1. POTTERY FROM CHAMBER A



2. POTTERY ETC. IN FRONT OF E. WALL OF CHAMBER B



3. POTTERY FROM NW. CORNER OF CHAMBER B

EARLY IRON AGE TOMB AT EZ ZĀHIRIYYE



POTTERY FROM CHAMBER B

EARLY IRON AGE TOMB AT EZ ZĀHIRIYYE



1. ASTARTE FIGURINE, CHAMBER B



2. JAR, POTTERY FROM CHAMBER B

EARLY IRON AGE TOMB AT EZ ZĀHIRIYYE

NOTE ON A CHAPEL AND WINEPRESS AT 'AIN EL JEDĪDE

AIN EL JEDĪDE is to-day a small spring rising in a fold in the hills close to el Jōra, a village lying $1\frac{1}{2}$ km. south-west of 'Ain Kārim (P.E.F. Survey Sheet XVII, L. t.). Close to the spring is a disused tank, lined with cement, from which a line or lines of earthenware piping once brought water to what appears to have been a small monastic establishment lying a few yards farther north. A plan of the remains of this establishment is reproduced on page 113.

The hill-side, which is now planted with vines and apricots, falls sharply away in terraces to the west and north. The western edge of the site is supported by a terrace wall 6 to 7 metres in height, of which the lower part, furnished with weep holes at intervals for drainage, appears to be ancient. It has a marked batter and is built in courses of large undressed stones levelled up with small rubble and builders' chips (Pl. LXV, 1). The collapse and subsequent rebuilding of this wall have resulted in the loss of the western edge of the plan. On the other hand, the eastern part of the site is partially obliterated by large masses of soft rock fallen from the overhanging slopes.

In their present state the remains consist in a small courtyard bounded on the north by two rectangular rooms divided by a passage; on the west by a long gallery of which only a part remains; on the east by a wall, beyond which excavation was impracticable; and on the south by a small chapel and ante-room. The courtyard is paved in the centre with white mosaic of peculiarly coarse quality, each cube being about 3 cm. square. This pavement is bounded on the north and west by a broken line of irregular stone slabs, suggesting the existence of light colonnades. Beyond this were traces of stone paving. The southern edge of the mosaic was indeterminate, but a fragment found within the chapel showed that it passed originally beyond the present limit of the courtyard, and was then curtailed by a reorganization of the buildings and the erection of the present chapel, the secondary character of which is confirmed by its awkward insertion in the plan. Below the court is a rectangular barrel-vaulted cistern built of limestone ashlar. Its extent to the west could not be determined. The axis corresponds to, and perhaps dictated, that of the chapel.

Immediately outside the north door of the chapel a broken panel of rather

finer mosaic than the rest of the pavement contains the following fragmentary inscription (Pl. LXV, 2):

ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀντι[λήψεως]
 [τῶ]ν ὁσίων πατέρων ἡμῶν α[]
 []νίου τῶν πρεσ[βυτέρ]ων κ[αὶ]
 [Διακ]όνου καὶ ὧν [γινώσκει ὁ κύριος]
 [τὰ ὀνόματ]α ἐπιφώθη]

The names of the donors (anonymous if the restoration of line 4 is correct) and of the other persons mentioned in the prayer are lost, together with the date if it was recorded. The mutilated word at the end of the first line may be restored to ἀντιλήψεως or ἀντιλήμψεως,¹ probably the last on the line, bringing the length of the panel to about 375 cm. If this was on the central axis of the court, the total width of the floor would have been rather more than 7 metres. The conjectural restoration of the fourth and beginning of the fifth lines is to some extent supported by remains of the letters OKY among fragments collected. Part of the initial Δ of Διακόνου was in position when the mosaic was first found. The inscription must clearly be dated late in the Byzantine period. In point of style and lettering it closely resembles an inscription in the floor of Khirbet Mukhayyat, near Mādeba.² A second parallel is the recently published inscription from the floor of the Chapel of the Theotokos on Mount Nebo, where the contiguous and contemporary baptistry is dated by an inscription to the year 597.³

The form of the Ν on our inscription is not found on the other two, but in most details the lettering is the same. For the Α compare the last two lines of the inscription at Khirbet Mukhayyat.

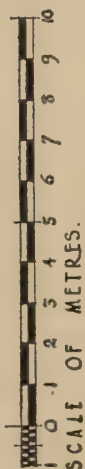
The chapel, F, is entered from the courtyard by a narrow doorway at its north-west corner. It is a rectangular chamber not 5 metres long. A step 20 cm. high, and barely 1 metre from the east wall, marks off a sort of sanctuary. In the eastern wall are three recesses; a semicircular niche in the centre, with a roughly rectangular cupboard on either side. The height of these from the floor is 85 cm. The south wall of the chapel stands to a height of 192 cm., and the top course may represent the springing of a barrel vault. At the centre and at the west end of this course are shallow recesses which appear to have taken the ends of tie-beams.

¹ For the double phrase, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀντιλή(μ)ψεως compare a mosaic at Battir of the late sixth or seventh century, *Revue Biblique*, 1910, p. 257. It occurs also in a dated inscription of the fourth century at Mādeba, *Revue Biblique*, 1892, p. 642.

² Described and discussed by R. P. Lemaire in *Revue Biblique*, 1934, pp. 385-401, Pls. XXIV-XXVII. The mosaic belongs, in all probability, to the first quarter of the seventh century A.D.

³ S. Saller in *Revue Biblique*, 1934, pp. 120-7, Pls. VI-X.

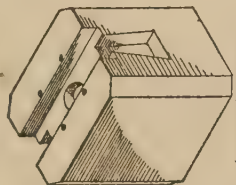
'AIN EL JEDĪDE.



HIGH GROUND

FALLEN ROCK

ISOMETRIC DETAIL
OF STONE PRESS.



STONE
PAVING



B

A
STONE
BASIN

FALLEN
ROCK



C

D

E

F

VAULTED CISTERN
UNDER

INSCRIPTION

MOSAIC

MOSAIC

R.M.H.
N.W. OCT. 1935.

A door in the west end of the chapel communicated with an unpaved chamber, E, of which the remaining vestiges give no indication of a second entrance.

Outside the antechamber, to the west, a doorway gives access from the courtyard to an area, also paved with coarse mosaic, that lay outside the limits of the excavation.

At the north side of the court the original plan does not appear to have been disturbed. The easternmost of the rooms here bounding the courtyard was divided into two compartments, A and B, and contained a wine-making installation. Room A, of which the floor is about 60 cm. higher than that of B, has a fragmentary white mosaic pavement. A rough stone basin was found on the floor as well as the jug, No. 9 on Pl. LXVII, and other pottery fragments. An earthenware pipe passing through the west wall of the room at the floor level discharged into a masonry vat in the south-east corner of B. This vat is 155 cm. in depth; the rim and bottom, which contains a sump, are lined with mosaic. The remainder of the east wall of B is occupied by a bench 40 cm. high. On the floor of the room stands a cylindrical stone table, 65 cm. high and 185 cm. in diameter. The upper surface is hollowed out to a depth of 25 cm. Beside this table was found the weight-stone of which an isometric drawing is shown with the plan, p. 113. Pl. LXV, 3, is a view of the room, looking east.

In the process of extracting the oil from olives there are two stages; first the grinding of the fruit, then compression of the pulp. In dealing with grapes the first operation is unnecessary. The apparatus in room B has to do with pressing only and belongs to what in Latin was known as *torcular* or *torculum*, in Greek *παιστήρ*.¹ No grinding installation has been found on the site, and it may be inferred perhaps that the production was of wine only. In room A, a part of the vine crop was simply trodden: the juice passing through the wall was collected in the vat. In B the press produced the same effect more economically, or perhaps served to squeeze the last drops from the trodden pulp.² The method employed is precisely illustrated by an oil-press recently seen in use in Kalymnos and described in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* of 1898.³ The grapes were placed in bags upon the hollowed upper surface of the table stone. Across them passed a wooden beam, one end of which was attached to a fulcrum, probably by insertion into a hole in the wall of the room.

¹ Daremberg, Saglio, and Pottier, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Vol. VII, pp. 162 ff. *Olea, oleum*. For an ancient account of a winepress cf. Nix-Schmidt, *Heronis Alexandrini opera*, Vol. II, fasc. 1, fig. 57.

² The simultaneous use of both operations is suggested in the mosaic at Kh. Mukhayyat by a medallion showing two men treading grapes with a press screw in the background (Plate LXVI, 3).

³ W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres: *JHS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 210.

CHAPEL AND WINEPRESS, 'AIN EL JEDĪDE

Through the other end of the beam passed a vertical screw of which the lower end was let into the circular hole in the top of the weight stone, and held there by means of dove-tailed grooves in the sides. When the screw was tightened the first effect was to depress the beam on to the grape bundles; an increase of pressure lifted the stone bodily off the ground and brought its full weight to bear upon the grapes through the leverage of the beam.

Modern examples of this form of press exist in many Palestinian villages. A photograph of one in Silwān, now abandoned, is shown on Pl. LXVI, 1. The thick end of the beam is lodged in the back of a deep recess at the right-hand side of the picture. The baskets are piled in a cemented well in the

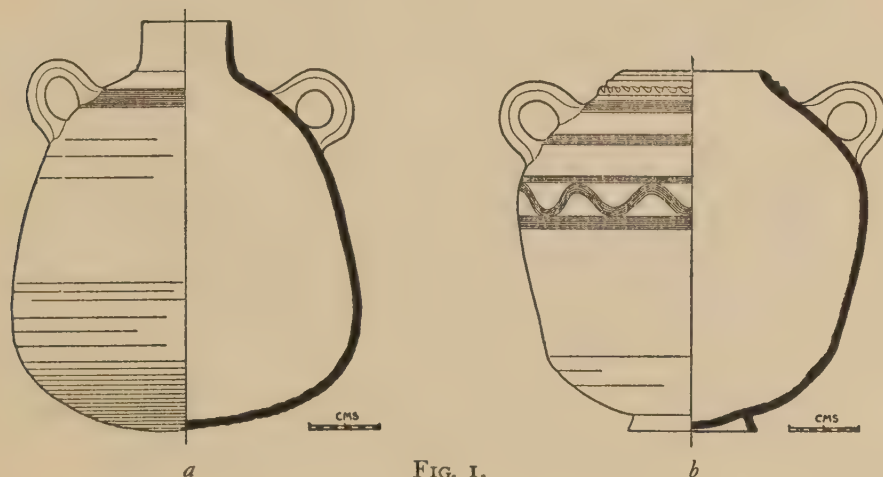


FIG. 1.

front part of the recess; immediately beside them is a pit in the floor to receive the oil. The weight stone is comparatively small, and furnished with a straight groove down the centre of two opposite sides. The central hole for the reception of the screw passes right through the stone. The left-hand end of the beam is forked and mortised for attachment to the cross-piece seen in position on the screw. Pl. LXVI, 2 shows a similar installation at Beit Jibrīn, with a grindstone in the background. The weight is buried in a hole dug in the floor to receive it. The fulcrum end of the beam enters a deep slot in the wall, where it is kept in position by a cross-bar.

On Pls. LXVII and LXVIII is seen a selection from the large quantities of mostly broken pottery that were found on the site. Of these, Nos. 5, 6, and 7, Pl. LXVII, were lying on the bench at the east side of the press-room; the spouted and pinched-lip jugs in the south-west corner of the same room:

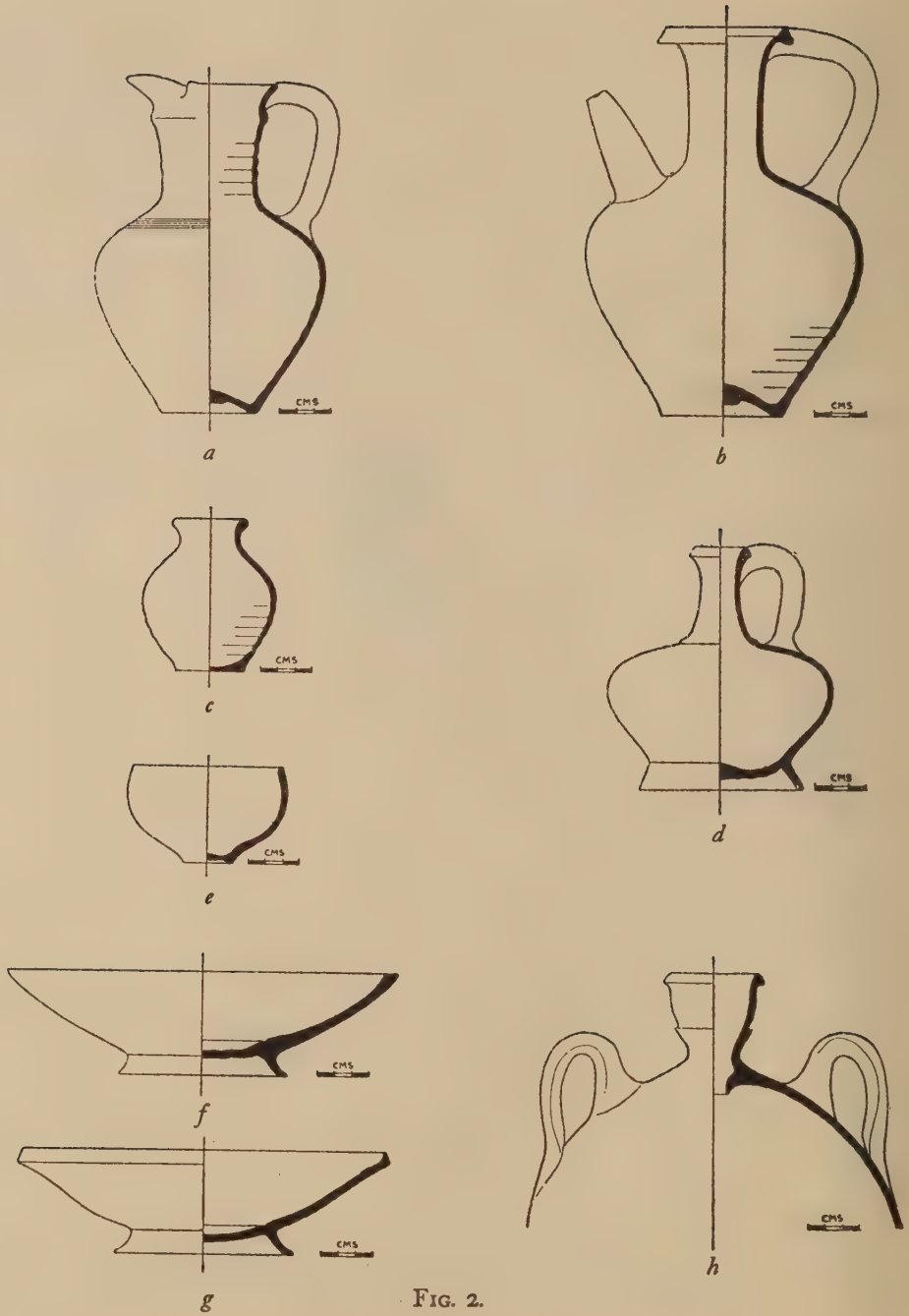
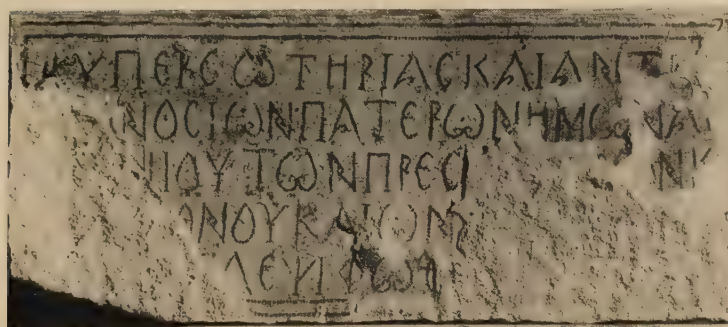


FIG. 2.



1. TERRACE WALL, WEST OF THE SITE



2. THE MOSAIC INSCRIPTION



3. ROOM B, LOOKING EAST
CHAPEL AND PRESS AT 'AIN EL JEDIDE



1. ABANDONED PRESS AT SILWĀN



2. OLIVE PRESS AT BEIT JIBRĪN



3. MOSAIC AT KH. MUKHAYYAT, DETAIL

CHAPEL AND PRESS AT 'AIN EL JEDĪDE



CHAPEL AND PRESS AT 'AIN EL JEDIDE

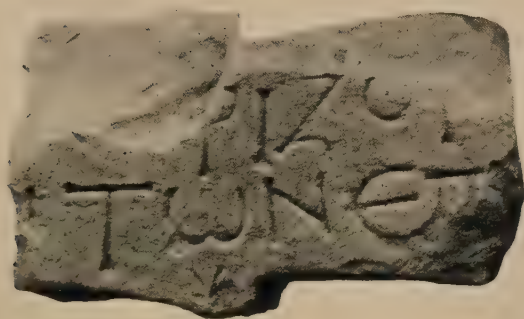
1=Fig. 2 a; 3=Fig. 2 b; 5=Fig. 2 g; 7=Fig. 2 f; 8=Fig. 2 e; 9=Fig. 2 d; 11=Fig. 2 c.



13



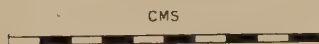
14



15



16



CHAPEL AND PRESS AT 'AIN EL JEDIDE

13=Fig. 1 a; 14=Fig. 1 b.

CHAPEL AND WINEPRESS, 'AIN EL JEDĪDE

No. 9 in room A. Of the jars, Pl. LXVIII, No. 13 stood at the north end of D, the other on the stone pavement west of E. The lamp fragment on Pl. LXVIII, No. 12, was found near the surface beside the table stone. On Pl. LXVIII, No. 15 is an inscribed limestone fragment from the press-room, and No. 16 the lower half of a lamp mould, also in limestone.

The pottery is mostly of one quality, a pale pinkish buff ware of fairly fine texture and evenly baked. Fragments of larger pots were found, some with wavy combed decoration, others with bands of clay appliqué as on Pl. LXVIII, No. 14. Line drawings of the commonest types of pottery are reproduced in Figs. 1 and 2.

The only coin found on the site, lying high up in the debris filling room C, was a late Omayyad bronze coin, of the eighth century A.D.

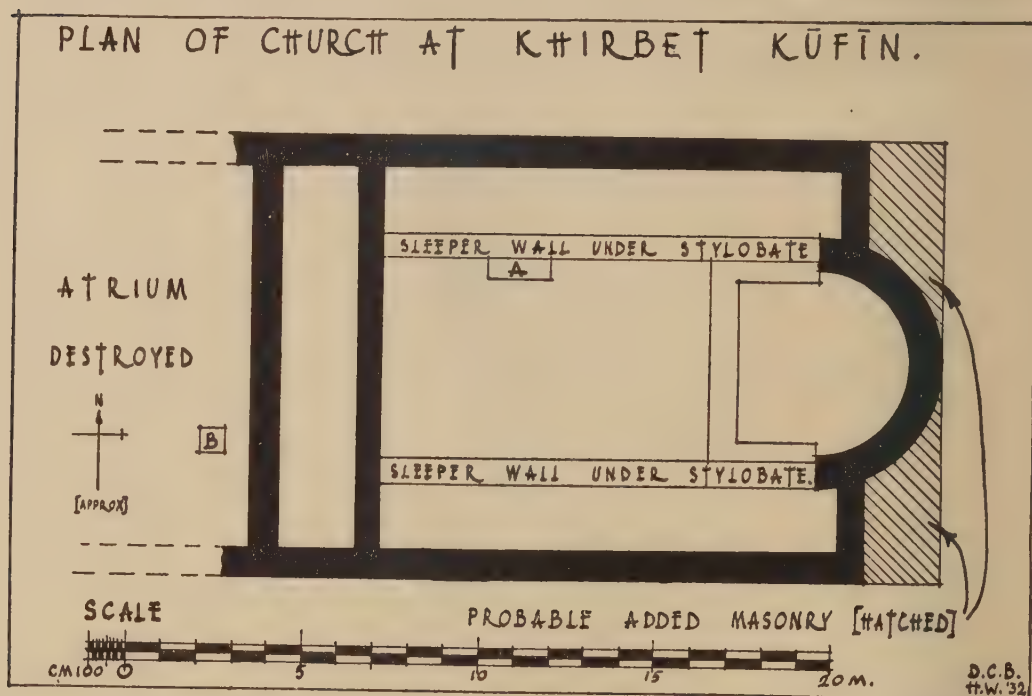
R. W. HAMILTON.

RECENT DISCOVERIES OF BYZANTINE REMAINS IN PALESTINE

1. *A Church at Khirbet Kūfīn*

IN September 1931, the writer, while on tour, noticed that old foundations were being removed near Khirbet Kūfīn, an ancient ruin east of Beit Ummar village, 11 km. north of Hebron. The site was excavated during the following days.

It consists of a basilica composed of a nave and two aisles, with a narthex and



atrium at the west end (Plan). All the walls had been destroyed to below floor level, yet it was possible to reconstruct the plan from the existing foundations.

The atrium was mostly destroyed, as the present motor-car road runs over it. It contained a cistern at the place marked B on plan. About the middle of the nave, at the point marked A, was a rectangular cavity built of flagstones. The nave was separated from the apse by an intrusive wall, built probably in the place formerly occupied by the chancel step, at a time when the church

BYZANTINE REMAINS IN PALESTINE

ceased to be used as a church, but was used as a dwelling-place. The nave was separated from the lateral aisles by foundations which probably supported a stylobate. These foundations were built of dressed stones and rubble, while the other walls of the basilica were built of dressed stones only.

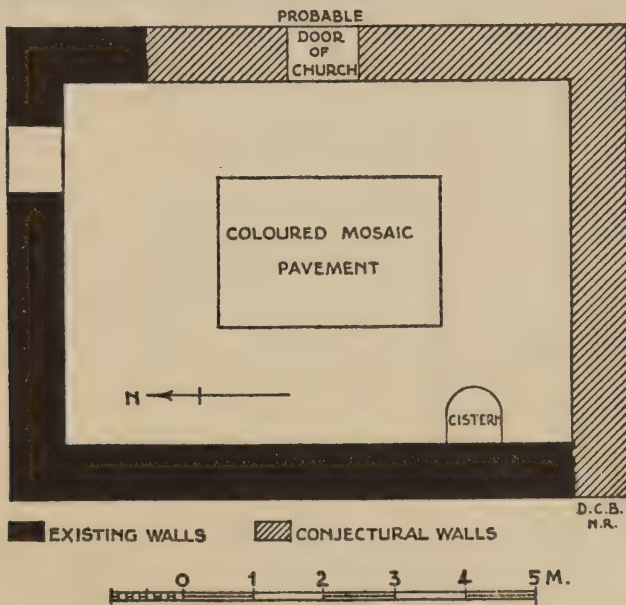
Additional masonry (hatched on plan) appears to have been constructed at the north-east and south-east corners for strengthening the wall of the apse.

At the upper edge of the second course of the apse there was a rebate, probably indicating the floor level.

There were not sufficient data by which the church could be dated precisely, but from the ribbed Byzantine potsherds found a general date between the fourth and sixth centuries can be given.

2. *A Mosaic Pavement at Beit Nattîf*

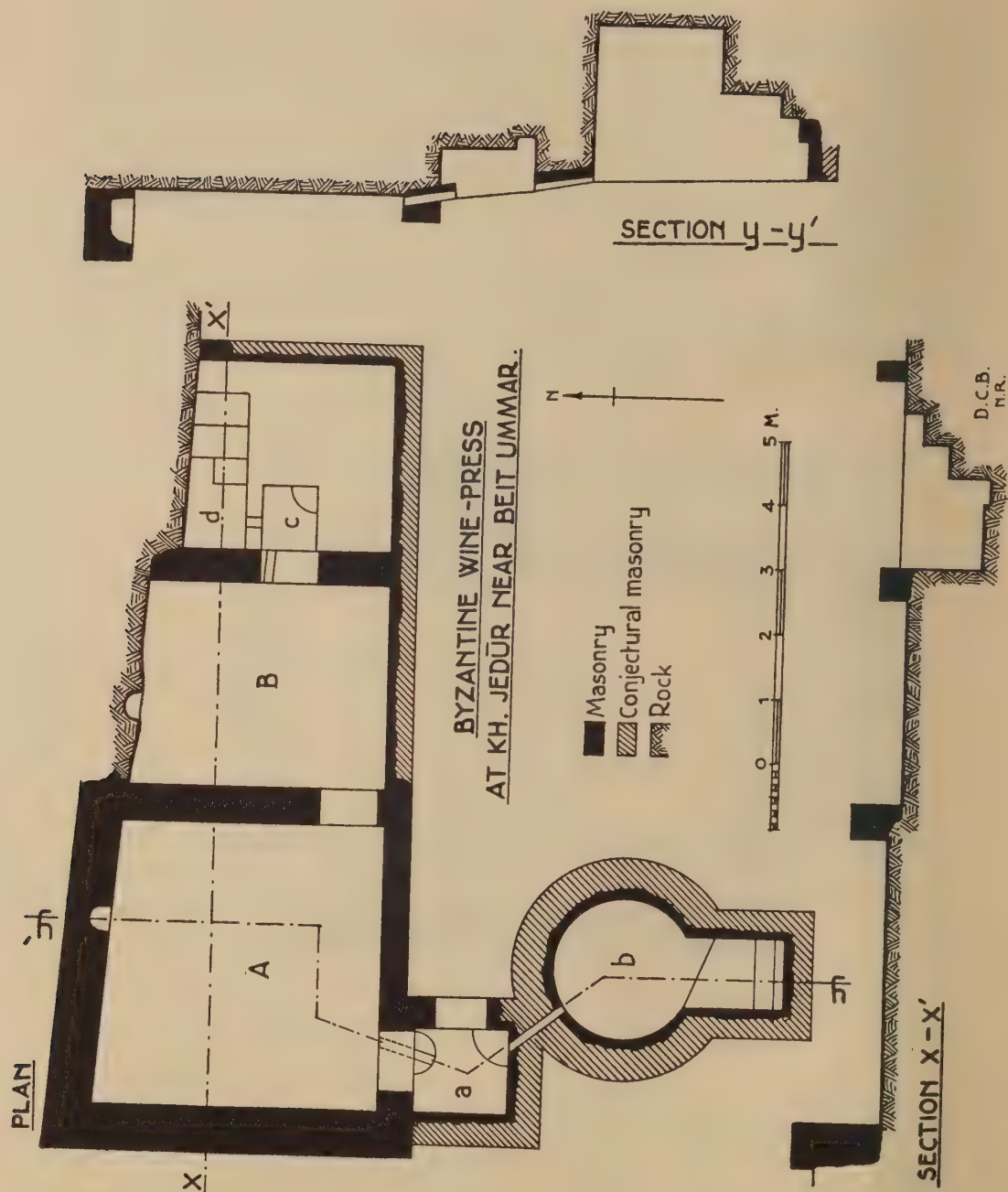
MOSAIC PAVEMENT AT BEIT NATTÎF, NEAR WELI OF SHEIKH 'ABDALLAH.



In October 1933 an area containing a mosaic pavement was discovered at Beit Nattîf, and was subsequently excavated by this Department.

It contained the remains of three walls of a rectangular chamber, enclosing a mosaic pavement, with a door in the north wall (cf. plan).

The mosaic pavement consisted of a white surround; a border including rows





MOSAIC PAVEMENT, BEIT NATTIF



1. PRESS A, NICHE IN N. WALL



2. PRESS A, SHOWING TANK (a) WITH CHANNEL LEADING FROM THE PRESS



3. PRESS A, SHOWING TANKS (a) and (b)

A WINE-PRESS AT KH. JEDŪR

BYZANTINE REMAINS IN PALESTINE

of black tesserae followed by a row of red triangles and a guilloche pattern in black, red, grey, brown, and white; and a field containing octagons and squares enclosing Amazon shields and other geometric patterns (Pl. LXIX) in the same colours as the border.¹

A weli of Sheikh 'Abdallah stands near the site, and it is a well-known characteristic of Palestinian holy places that their sanctity endures throughout all ages.

Basing our argument on this fact, we may safely assume that the site was once occupied by a church, and the area excavated answers to the description of a narthex.

The mosaic pavement is of a type usually attributed to the fifth or sixth century A.D.

3. *A Winepress at Khirbet Jedūr, near Beit Ummar*

In November 1933, while a landlord was cultivating a field belonging to him near Kh. Jedūr, an ancient site, west of Beit Ummar, he discovered some ancient pits, and reported the discovery to this Department, which excavated the surrounding area.

The site consists of two winepresses communicating by a door (cf. plan and sections).

Press A is composed of a large roughly square chamber, paved with plaster known locally as *madde*. In its north wall there is a small niche (Pl. LXX, 1). The floor slopes towards the south-west corner, where a channel, under the door step, leads into a small tank (marked *a* on plan) outside the chamber (Pl. LXX, 2). This tank contains a sump at its south-east corner for collecting the dregs, and communicates with a larger tank (Pl. LXX, 3, marked *b* on plan) by a second channel. Access to the latter is gained by a flight of steps at its south end.

Press B is similar in arrangement to Press A, except in details of plan (*q.v.*). However, the remains of the wall enclosing the two tanks of Press B are extant.

The two presses are partly cut in the rock and partly built (cf. plan). The masonry is very rough and the whole is plastered over to give a smooth surface.

The potsherds found on the site are ribbed and attributed to the Byzantine period. There are no other criteria for dating the site.

D. C. BARAMKI.

¹ These patterns are classified in the tables of mosaic patterns published in this *Quarterly*, Vol. II, pp. 138-41 as: *A 6* in *A 2*, *B 12*, diamonds, *B 2*, *I 4*, *I 14*.

EXCAVATIONS AT PILGRIMS' CASTLE, 'ATLĪT (1931-2)

An Unfinished Church in the Suburb

A PART of the autumn season of 1931 and spring season of 1932 was devoted to clearing a small church situated in the walled town adjoining the castle. Although never finished and now mostly ruined, it is important as one of the very few examples of Crusader church-building of the thirteenth century that survive in either Palestine or Syria. It closely resembles a number of the still existing churches that were subsequently built in Cyprus, where the development of the Latin colonies went on after the opposite sea-board had been lost; and it goes to show that in Cyprus close parallels may be found for the equally numerous churches, monastic and parochial, which formerly existed in Acre and the other seaport towns that were still in Crusader hands during the thirteenth century.

I. *Excavation of the Church*

The church stood against the town wall, south of the middle gate.¹ Before excavation its position was indicated by a prominent *tell* on the rising ground against the wall, shrub-covered as the south-east fort had been, and its north and south sides were marked by ridges of rubble masonry protruding through the drift sand. Some pieces of moulded limestone lying on the slopes suggested a church. From near the surface some recent clay pipes were collected, and as the sand was being removed, medieval sherds and coins were found,² together with sherds of the Persian and Hellenistic periods, typical of the south-eastern cemetery.³ When completely cleared of blown sand, the north and south walls proved to be standing about 2 metres above the former ground-level, the west and east ends rather less. Pls. LXXI and LXXII show the condition in which they were found, the inner faces stripped of most of their ashlar, and the rubble core exposed; only, when first free of sand, they were still partly buried by heaps of fallen masonry, both inside and out.

Inside, the debris of the vaults lay in two well-marked heaps, one over the centre of the polygonal apse, the other about the centre of the square main bay. Both heaps were about a metre high, sloping downwards to the plinth of the surrounding walls. Near the floor of the main bay, sections of the cross ribs were found lying as they fell, radiating from the boss with *voûtaîns* in between (Pl. LXXV, 1). In the same bay were some typical *voûtaîns*, flat

¹ R-15 on the map in *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities*, Vol. III, Fig. 1 facing p. 145.

² Like the slip-ware described, *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 137 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 41 ff.

'ATLIT, CHURCH IN THE SUBURB

stones about 20–25 cm. thick, cemented together in two masses, the one lying on the floor, the other half embedded in a cavity caused by a grave (Pls. LXXI, LXXII). Elsewhere *voûtaîns* were conspicuously few and far between. Along the walls and outside the west end lay some of the fallen ashlar, including the heavier carved details such as the engaged capitals (Pl. LXXIV, 1, 2), though far from all. Underneath, in the last 20 cm. of blown sand and powdered mortar, were fragments of large iron nails which presumably belonged to interior woodwork, besides domestic rubbish of medieval date.

Outside the walls, on the north and south, the fallen masonry included comparatively few facing stones but a number of heavy carved details, viz. sections of the drip course, jambs and voussoirs from windows (cf. Fig. 7, p. 132). Many of these lay in all probability where they had fallen, but many were missing; it was not possible to complete the circuit of the drip course nor to reconstruct any one window. Scattered over an area some metres deep right round the building were sections or fragments of vaulting ribs, transverse or

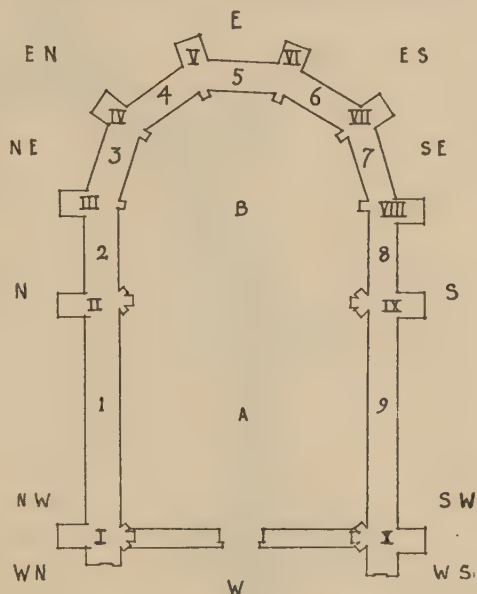
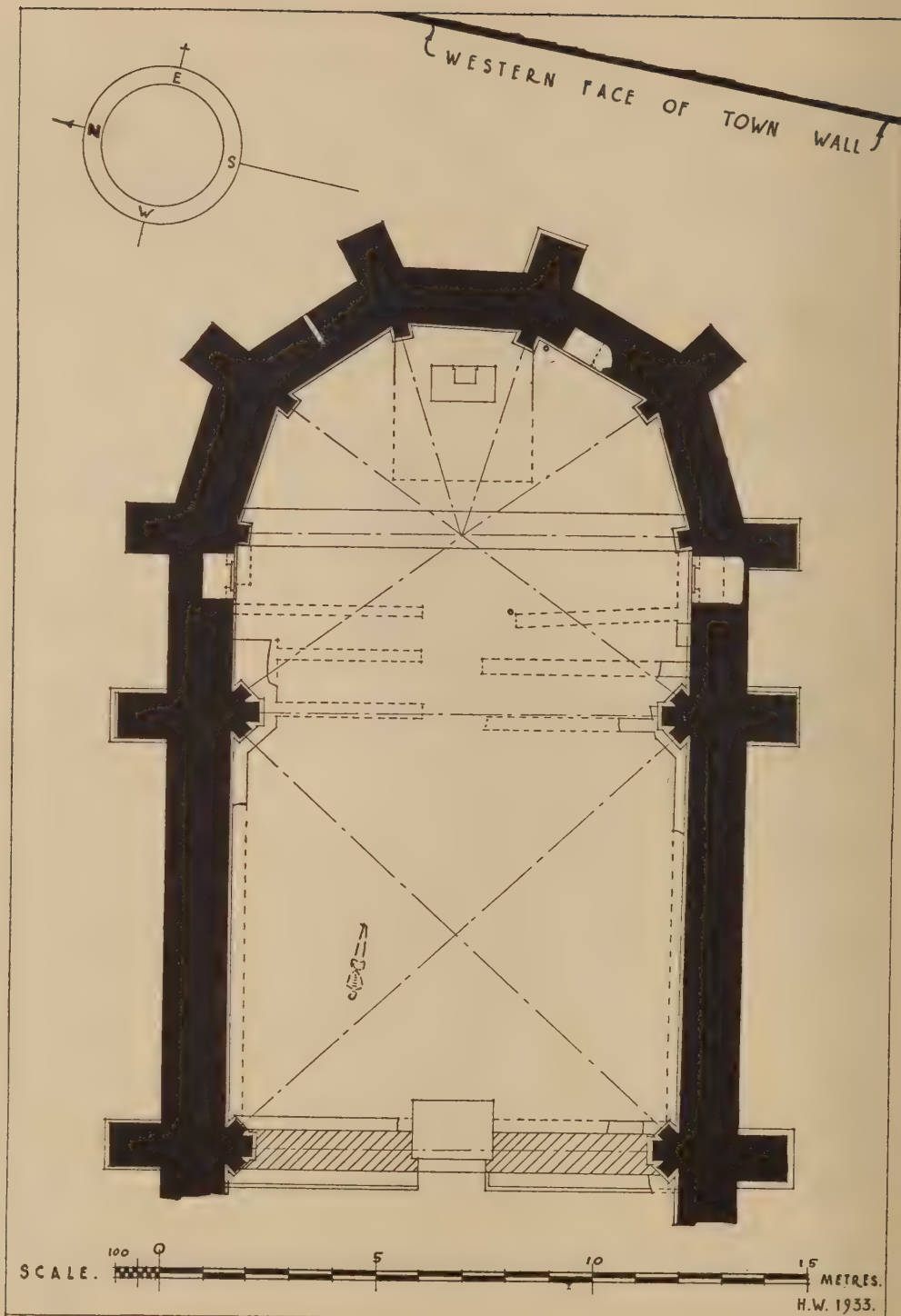


FIG. 1.

diagonal (Fig. 7, p. 132), many of which must have belonged to the apse since most of those belonging to the main bay were found inside it. It is perhaps significant that the east end of the building was more disturbed than the west; but on the assumption that the apse fell later than the main bay, and therefore on the top of its debris, it would be the first to be quarried. The same types of vaulting rib were found built into a rough secondary wall along the counterscarp of the town fosse not far from the church, evidently of a much later period when the fosse had entirely silted up with sand. Both inside and outside the building, it was clear that local builders had robbed any accessible material which they could easily make use of. What remained was, on the one hand, large stones which were too heavy to move easily or tiresome to break up, though some were doubtless split in the same way as the sills of the two wall recesses at 2 and 8 (Pl. LXXII, 2); and on the other hand, circular-cut pieces which were of little use, especially the ribs and shafts, perhaps half of



'ATLIT, CHURCH IN THE SUBURB

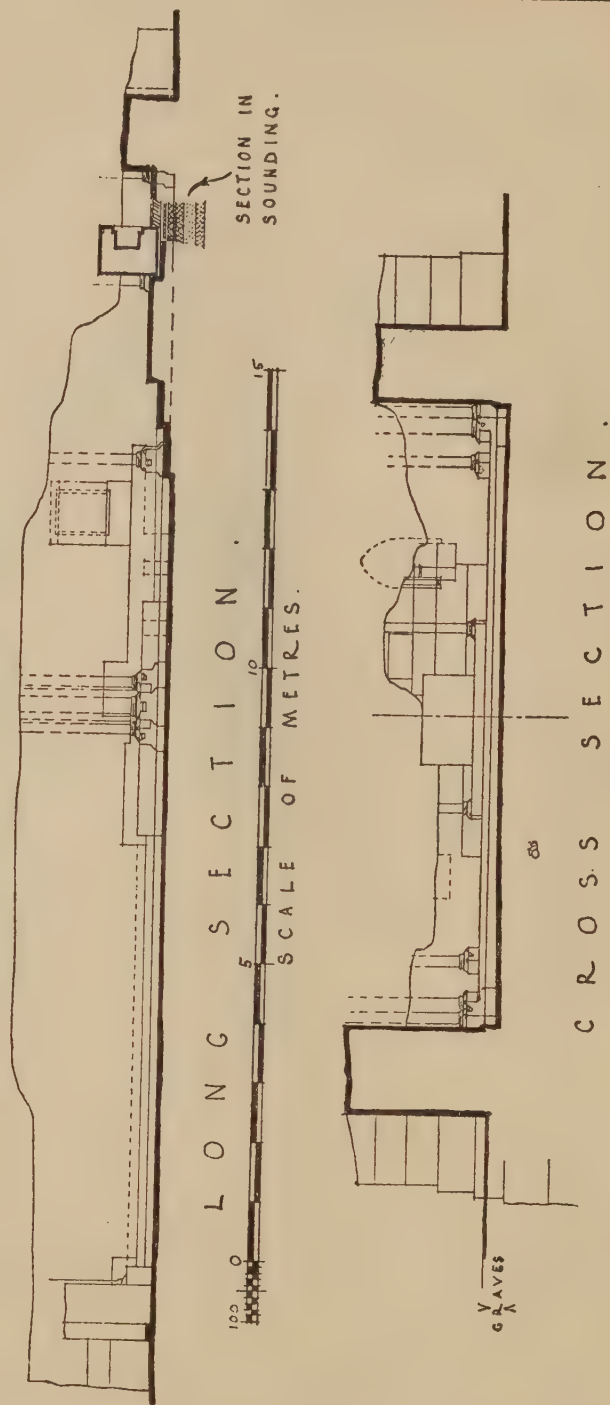
which have been reassembled. But of the convenient square stones, the vaulting and facing blocks, the bulk have gone. There were hardly enough of both together to reface the existing rubble, now only a fraction of its original height, much less to replace the original coursing in front of it. The general shortage of stone, quite apart from the lack of specific detail, makes any attempt at a restored elevation somewhat problematical. For the present the remaining carved stones have been lettered to show within a metre or so the position in which they were found; on comparison with the contemporary Templar chapel in the castle, which still awaits detailed examination, it may be possible to fit them into a theoretical reconstruction. The present report is necessarily confined to a description of the actual ruin, its plan, and the details of masonry still *in situ* or lying close at hand.

II. *Description and Analysis*

The condition in which the building was found after all loose debris had been cleared away is shown in Fig. 2 opposite, and in Fig. 3, p. 126. The west wall is distinguished from the rest because it was of slighter and hastier construction (Pl. LXXII, 1). As found, it abutted against the piers at either end, covering up the shafts and their moulded bases (Pl. LXXIV, 5). To judge from voussoirs found just outside, it had an arched doorway without any moulding. Evidently it was only a provisional screen, to close the end of the church until another bay was added such as the plan demanded and the builder no doubt intended. The end of either of the main walls was left unbonded to take a continuation which was apparently never built. In a trial trench, which was cut through the contemporary surface, a crust of masons' chips opposite the end of the north wall, no trace of foundations appeared. Where they should have been, about a metre below the surface, two extended skeletons lay along the trench in opposite directions; just above, were some bones of two other skeletons lying across it.

Inside the church, the moulded plinth and shaft bases were covered up with an apparent disregard of their ornament that is less readily explained. Around piers II and IX (Fig. 1, p. 123) were portions of a narrow step or bench which seemed to have run right round the main bay as far as the apse, while from the opposing, parallel sides of the sanctuary (2, 8) pairs of short cross benches of apparently the same height ran out at right angles, with a passage between each pair (Pls. LXXI, 2; LXXII, 2). They were covered with the same white lime-plaster as the floor, on which they were bedded. In the apse too, the upper of the two sanctuary steps stretching right across the church completely buried the plinth, while the third step or footpace surrounding three sides of

CHURCH AT ATLIT. [R. 15.1.]



H.W. 1933.

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the altar, partly buried the bases of the shafts behind the altar. Pl. LXXIII shows sides 4 and 6, and Pl. LXXIV, 6 the base of shaft VI after cutting away the steps. From a section cut on the south side of the footpace, it was clear that a floor of pounded stone chips, the lower layer of 'masons' rubble' of Fig. 4, ran over the apse at much the same level as the floor of the main bay, i.e. the bottom of the plinth. It was on this that the sanctuary steps were laid, the upper step corresponding to the 'plaster and shell' floor of Fig. 4, on top of which the footpace and the altar itself were bedded. This common floor and the sanctuary steps were all packed with the same sort of soil, containing a uniform mixture of contemporary and older sherds: glazed slip-ware and brown glazed cooking ware of the Crusading occupation along with Hellenistic black-varnished ware and *terra sigillata*. Except for a gap caused by the drain beside pier VI (Pl. LXXV, 3) the sanctuary steps were formerly covered with the same white plaster as the floor of the main bay and the benches. The plaster as well as the packing contained some fragments of plain coloured window glass, perhaps the glazier's refuse.

Compared with the shell of the building, both the benches and steps were indifferent work, carelessly laid and badly finished, hurried expedients like the temporary west wall. The benches may have been intrusive; but the steps, like the west wall, must have been built before the church was consecrated, even if they were not in keeping with the shell of the building, were not where the architect originally intended, and may be more than he originally provided for. In any case one step running right across the church would have been necessary to mark the liturgical division between the sanctuary and nave; a single step of the same height as the present first or sub-deacon's step would have covered up part of the plinth but not the moulding at the

SECTION IN SOUNDING TO S.E. OF ALTAR. R.15.1.

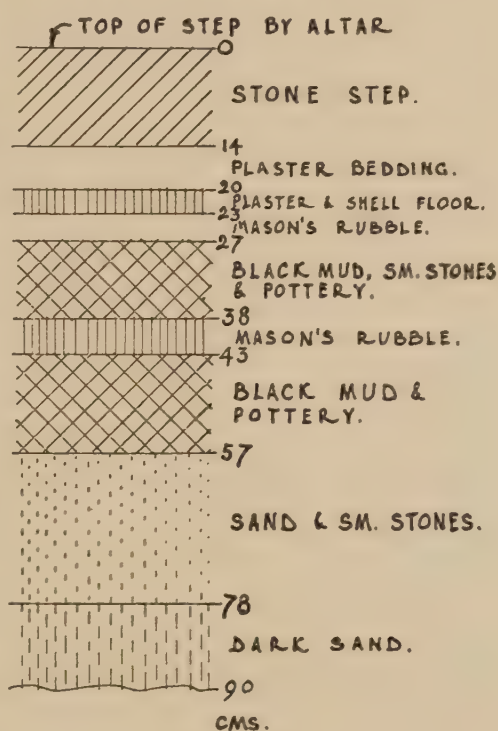


FIG. 4.

top, and moreover it would have left the wall recesses on either side of the altar a little higher and less inconvenient than they must have been when the second step was in place (Pl. LXXIII). But from the section cut on the south side of the altar (Fig. 4, p. 127) it was clear that it was when the second or deacon's step had already been made that the altar was placed in its present position. It is possible, however, that this was not the position originally contemplated; had another bay or two been added to the nave so as to complete the church, it is likely that the altar would have been placed further forward, on the chord of the apse, under the boss where the vaulting ribs met (Fig. 2, p. 124).¹ In this central position there would not only have been plenty of room for the celebrant to pass when censing the altar, but also for the builder to surround it with a second and third step which need not have reached the sides of the apse at all. As it was, he could not fit in the deacon's step, much less the priest's footpace, without sacrificing some of the existing decoration of the plinth and shaft bases.

As it stands the altar is incomplete (Fig. 3, p. 126). The solid stone block or support, which is still *in situ*, must formerly have carried a flat slab (*mensa*), which overlapped it a little all round.² The reliquary (*sepulchrum*)³ at the back of the support had been violated too. It was a cubical cavity, rebated at the edges to take a counter-sunk slab, which was missing. The cavity is identical, however, with the one in a similar altar of solid masonry in the crypt of St. John Prodromos in Jerusalem, formerly the church of the Hospital of St. John, where a portable reliquary of Crusading date was actually found in 1893.⁴

In its existing position the altar seems to have been served by no fewer than four wall recesses; a pair, one on either side, at the entrance to the sanctuary, and another pair in the opposite wall faces adjacent to the altar (Fig. 2, p. 124, and Fig. 3, p. 126). The former pair were rebated to take doors (Pl. LXII, 2). Of the latter pair, the one on the south of the altar was an open niche with moulded jambs (Pl. LXXIII, 1 and Fig. 7, p. 132); in the debris underneath it was found a small section of the jamb moulding, which when cleaned showed traces of a chevron pattern painted in red and some other colour or colours

¹ Cf. e.g. the fourteenth-century church of St. Anne, Famagusta, Enlart, *L'art gothique en Chypre*, Paris, 1899, Vol. I, Fig. 223, p. 348.

² Cf. the late thirteenth-century treatise of Bishop Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Naples, 1859, lib. i, cap. vi, 32, p. 45; and the illustrations in Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française*, Vol. II, art. 'Autel', Figs. 21 and 22, p. 54, both from thirteenth-century reliefs.

³ Durandus, *op. cit.*, lib. i, cap. vi, 34, p. 45.

⁴ Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, tome ii (Paris, 1914-22), chap. xxvi; for the reliquary, p. 667, note, and Pl. LXVI.

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which had so faded as to be unrecognizable. On the north of the altar, opposite and at the same level, there was a hole leading outwards through the wall to show that a corresponding niche may have existed with a basin inside it (Pl. LXXIII, 2). Had the altar been placed further forward, on the chord of the apse as was usual,¹ the closed cupboards at its entrance would have been on either hand of the celebrant. They may be compared with those adjoining either side of the central apse of the church at 'Imwās near Ramle, which were Crusader additions to the Byzantine church made during the twelfth century.² Like those, they were probably used as aumbries (*scrinia*, *scrinei*)³ for locking up the sacred vessels and elements, the sacred oils, relics, or even the reserved sacrament.⁴

Of the two recesses close to the present altar, the one on the south must have been a credence for use during the course of a celebration; it has a groove in the existing east side which would take a light wooden shelf, while the recess on the north of the altar appears to have been a piscina, one of the two which were usual in the thirteenth century.⁵ The position of the other piscina was marked by a simple earthenware drain of two sections which were found *in situ* just under the second step on the south of the altar, between the footpace and wall recess (Pl. LXXV, 3). Both the capital and base of such a piscina have been found, scattered among the vaulting debris in the apse of the church; both of a distinctive white limestone, not the common sandstone of the fabric. The top of the capital was hollowed out to form a small bowl, drained by two vertical channels, and the base had two corresponding channels (Fig. 5 and Pl. LXXIV, 4). A short column must formerly have supported the capital, but this was probably smashed like the capital and base for the sake of the lead piping it contained. Free-standing as they were, neither the capital nor base can have belonged to the structure of the building; but they would form a free-standing piscina of a type not uncommon at the time,⁶ even if a trifle large and elaborate for this little church. Indeed it is doubtful whether it was ever intended for it; certainly it cannot have fitted the single earthenware drain which was found *in situ*, close beside the wall. An

¹ See p. 128, note 1. ² Vincent and Abel, *Emmaüs*, Paris, 1932, p. 43, cf. Fig. 32, and Pl. VI.

³ Ducange, *Glossarium Latin.* s.v.

⁴ Viollet-le-Duc, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, art. 'Armoire'. The Englishman Lyndode, writing about 1422, noted with approval that in Holland and Portugal wall cupboards were used instead of hanging ciboria; quoted by Rock, *Hierurgia*, Vol. II, London, 1892, p. 318, note.

⁵ Viollet-le-Duc, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, art. 'Piscine'. The double piscina was a Cistercian innovation which came in during the late twelfth century and occurs, e.g., in the Cistercian abbey-church of Belmont near Tripoli, Syria, founded 1157-69, Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1928, Vol. II, p. 53 and Fig. 201.

⁶ Viollet-le-Duc, *op. cit.*, fig. 1, p. 190, a late twelfth-century example.

alternative basin of similar type but of the usual sandstone has been found in fragments (restored in Fig. 6). This was also hollowed out to form a large if shallow basin, but pierced with only one vertical drain. On a suitable base it probably stood about a metre high. It was not only smaller and simpler than the other, but obviously meant for a single earthenware drain such as the one found close to the apse wall south of the altar, which could not possibly have been covered by either hole of the bigger one (Pl. LXXV, 3). If the smaller was really the second piscina, perhaps the larger was the font, though there is no trace of its position on the floor. In any case, compared with the wall recess north of the altar, the earthenware drain on the south marks the more regular position for a piscina at that time,¹ so arranged that it drained within the soil of the church. Obviously an afterthought, it may have been added to conform to the growing liturgical distinction between the priest's ablutions before and after the consecration. By the middle of the thirteenth century this distinction was often met by a double piscina, planned in the south wall of the sanctuary, as, for example, in the Sainte Chapelle at Paris,² or in the cathedral of Nicosia in Cyprus.³

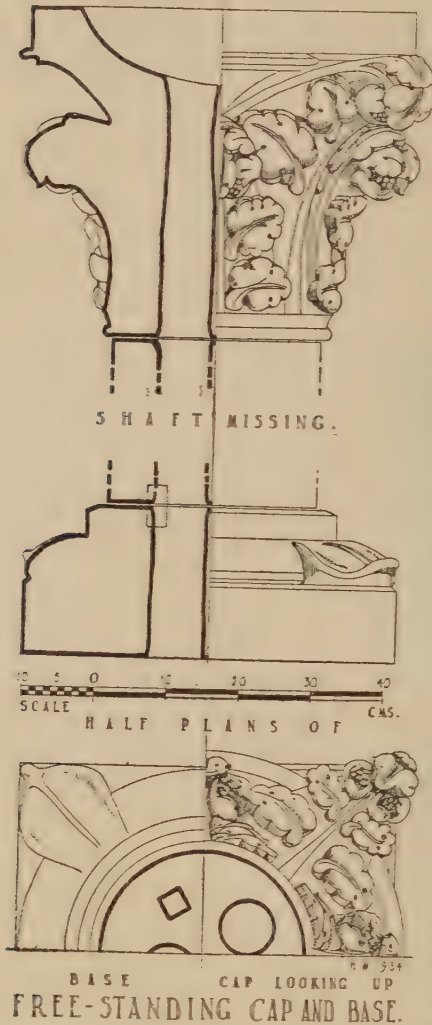


FIG. 5.

tween the bases and capitals of the north and south sides. In the section,

¹ Durandus, *op. cit.*, lib. iv, cap. lv, p. 315. The priest should wash at the right-hand or Epistle corner of the altar.

² Gebelin, *La Sainte Chapelle*, Paris, 1931, p. 54.

³ Enlart, *L'art gothique en Chypre*, Vol. I, Fig. 172, p. 294.

Fig. 3, p. 126, the bases on the north have been shown schematically with consoles under the projecting lower torus; actually their pedestals were plain (cf. Pls. LXXI, 2; LXXIII, 2). But in every surviving case along the south side the lower torus was either supported by a console or the pedestal ornamented with a sprig of leaves, perhaps oak or clover (Pls. LXXIII, 1; LXXIV, 5 and 6). With the exception of base IV, however, which was a Roman base of white marble clumsily cut down (Pl. LXXIII, 2, left-hand base), they all had the *griffe* or corner spur, though in most cases it was found damaged. The carving of the single shaft bases of the apse is the best preserved, being in hard Carmel limestone instead of the coarse local sandstone (Pls. LXXIII, 1; LXXIV, 6). Apparently the opposing compound capitals of the main bay contrasted too, if the ones found near shafts I and X were typical of the two sides (Pl. LXXIV, 1 and 2 respectively). But in either case the side capitals were the same (see tailpiece, p. 137). Possibly the contrast between the compound capitals was repeated in the single capitals of the apse, those on the north resembling the side capitals shown in the tailpiece, those on the south the one illustrated in Pl. LXXIV, 3. The windows again were not identical; their plan was uniform, but their mouldings varied slightly. Nor was the weather mould or cornice, which connected them on the outside, entirely regular. A composite restoration is suggested in Fig. 7. The grouping of jambs and voussoirs outside the building indicated that lancet windows may have existed in five sides, i.e. either side of the main bay and the three eastern faces of the apse. The two types of rib moulding, transverse and diagonal, shown in Fig. 7 were standard throughout the building, the diagonal being common to both the apse and the main bay. Unfortunately the boss of the apse was missing, but it probably resembled the one in the main bay, a design which is also characteristic of the castle (Pl. LXXV, 1 and 2).¹ Like the moulding of the south-east wall recess or credence, the latter showed traces of red paint.

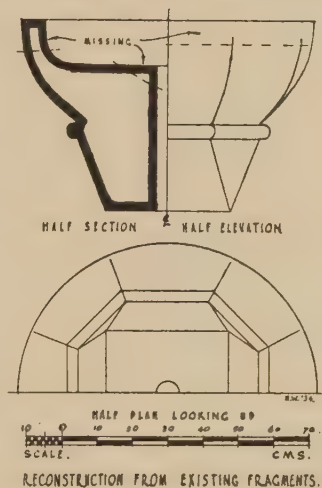
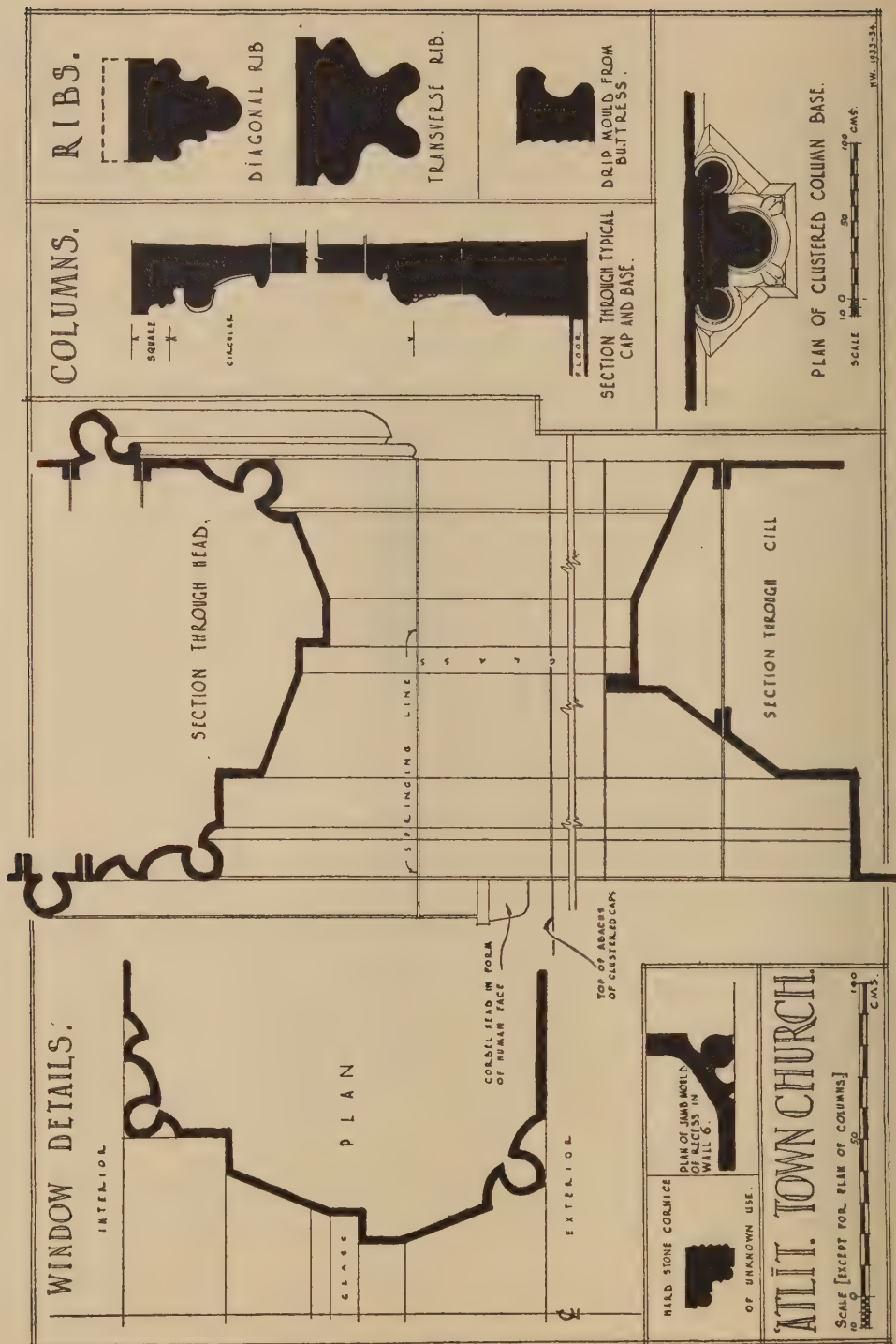


FIG. 6.

¹ It particularly resembles bosses in the fourteenth-century cathedral of Famagusta in Cyprus, Enlart, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Fig. 171, p. 293.



III. Window Glass

A quantity of window glass was recovered from the floor of the building close to the walls, but altogether it would not make more than a fraction of one window. Much more was found at the edge of the pile of the fallen masonry outside the west wall, forming perhaps the greater part of a small lancet window. It was mostly clear glass, slightly greenish or purplish in tint, cut into straight strips or curves averaging $2\frac{1}{2}$ cm. or an inch wide. Some strips of completely colourless glass belonged to octagons and circles fitting the same square of 31 cm. or a foot (Fig. 8). There were also fragmentary quarries of greenish and purplish glass to fit the angles of the octagons, the inner curves of the circle, and the corners of the containing square, as well as smaller medallions. The coloured fragments were chiefly indigo and dull purple or wine colour (never the vermillion of contemporary European windows), occasionally amber and more rarely emerald. Comparatively few, they are perhaps more likely to have been looted than the plain glass; fragments of identical colours have been found on other parts of the site. The few entire quarries in blue, purple, or amber found at the church were evidently used to fill in geometrical designs outlined in clear glass, some possible arrangements of which

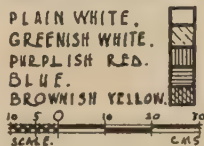


FIG. 8.



'Section of lead comes used for binding window glass'

are suggested in Fig. 8. If part of the background was of the same clear glass painted in opaque grey (*en grisaille*) so as to reserve a floral pattern,¹ no trace of this shading remains, since the original surface of every piece has flaked off. All the quarries seem to have been cut from spun saucers or bull's eyes, consequently they are of varying thickness. To allow for these unequal edges, the comes employed for binding the quarries were pulled with a wide groove, Fig. 9. Only a few scattered sections of them turned up; for the sake of the lead alone, quite apart from the coloured glass, it was worth somebody's while to pull the windows to bits.

¹ Viollet-le-Duc, *op. cit.*, s.v. 'Vitrail', Vol. IX, Fig. 39, p. 449, &c.

IV. *The Churchyard*

On three sides, the north, west, and south, the church was surrounded by a churchyard, enclosed by a low boundary wall, a single course of big uncut stones, completed on the east by the town wall, and entered through a wide gateway opposite the west door of the church (cf. *Quarterly*, Vol. III, Fig. 1, opposite p. 145). The boundary ran approximately $9\frac{1}{2}$ metres or thirty feet from the building; almost exactly this distance on the north, rather less on the west, and rather more on the south. Now this appears to have been just the customary measurement determining the area to be enclosed as a graveyard; a contemporary wrote:

'Some say that a space of thirty feet around the church (*locus triginta pedum circa Ecclesiam*) should be consecrated for this purpose, others that it is sufficient for the purpose for the bishop simply to trace a line around the church at the time of consecration.'¹

Here a space thirty feet deep was in fact enclosed round the unfinished building, and used as a graveyard. Half a dozen graves were noticed in the course of clearing the north side, one beside each of the first three buttresses counting from the west end, and three others about 3 or 4 metres from them. They were not all at the same level, some of them very shallow in relation to the original ground-level, as indicated by a trodden surface of masons' chips at the west side of the church (Fig. 3, p. 126). The only one which was completely excavated lay at much the same depth and in much the same position as a burial discovered inside the church under the floor of the nave (Fig. 2, p. 124, and Pl. LXXV, 4), except that the right hand lay on the left, not *vice versa*. Both skeletons lay on their backs, facing eastward, the traditional Christian attitude, and both were without any associated objects whatsoever, although in both cases the surrounding sand was full of worn ancient sherds, Hellenistic or earlier. The grave inside the church was discovered when extricating a mass of vaulting debris, some seven stones cemented together in two courses, from a cavity in the floor in which they were half embedded. Elsewhere in the nave the floor was intact, so it was presumed that this was the only burial. Nor were any others found in examining the chancel steps. Another group already alluded to on p. 125 was encountered in a trial trench made in continuation of the north wall of the church; to judge from portions of the skeletons so exposed two of these lay along the trench and two across it, severally facing all four points of the compass. They were all deeper than the burials along the north side of the church, 60 cm. to 1 metre as compared with about 30 cm., but also in sand sprinkled with ancient sherds. On the

¹ Durandus, *op. cit.*, lib. i, cap. v, 12, p. 37.

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one hand, it is out of the question that these or any of the other burials preceded the Crusader occupation; it was one of the essential preliminaries to dedicating a church to throw out any pagan burials from its site, and if these had already been in place the builders could hardly have failed to notice them when digging the foundations.¹ On the other hand, it is clear that the burials preceded the collapse of the building, since they were covered by the fallen masonry. That they were the graves of Mamluk troops or later squatters, who occupied this among the other buildings abandoned by the Crusaders, seems unlikely. Presumably they were Christian burials, dating from the Crusader occupation but from very near the end of it. The group of burials across the line of the intended continuation of the church can have been made only after all hopes of completing it had been given up; while those along the north side, which now seem unduly shallow, may have been made after the level had risen because all attempts to cope with drifting sand had ceased. It is significant that of the dozen graves found, only one lay within the church; possibly it was a priest's.² It may have been covered by a tombstone which squatters have removed and utilized, leaving the cavity in which part of the roof embedded itself on the collapse of the building.

V. *Parallels and Conclusions*

Both in plan and style the church is conspicuously French. Unfinished as it was, the plan consisted essentially of a nave of one square bay with a polygonal sanctuary (Fig. 2, p. 124). But had it been completed by the addition of one or possibly two more bays to the nave, it would have been practically identical with the plan of a number of small conventual and parish churches in Cyprus, erected under French auspices towards the end of the thirteenth century or during the fourteenth.³ The only important difference is in the apse, which is an attempt at a half-decagon instead of the more usual half-hexagon; it is paralleled in Cyprus only in the choirs of the two cathedrals, at Nicosia and Famagusta, the former of the early thirteenth century;⁴ but it is more likely to have been imitated from the round chapel in the castle, which appears to have been based upon a regular decagon. The plan of the apse shown in Fig. 2 suggests a method of setting out the sanctuary rather than a plan of the vaulting, since the boss would have been a little farther west, at a point equidistant between the four piers II, IV, VII, and IX (Fig. 1, p. 123), in order to distribute the thrust more equally.

¹ *Ibid.*, cap. vi, 4, p. 40.

² *Ibid.*, cap. v, 12, p. 37.

³ Notably at Nicosia and Famagusta, Enlart, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 142 ff. and 321 ff. respectively.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Figs. 31, p. 93 and 154, p. 277 respectively.

This type of plan is represented in Cyprus in not more than one or two churches of the same size earlier than the fourteenth century;¹ the details of decoration however, can be paralleled in several of the larger churches on the Syrian coast as well as in Cyprus which belong to the first half of the thirteenth century. They reflect the developing Gothic of northern and central France, then as much in vogue in the remaining Christian possessions in the East as in its original home. The clearest example is the metropolitan cathedral of Nicosia, which was in progress throughout the thirteenth century. It has a choir and ambulatory typical of early thirteenth-century work in the Île de France, due to a bishop who had been a senior ecclesiastic of Notre Dame of Paris; and aisles which suggest the schools of Champagne and Burgundy, doubtless due to craftsmen brought east by Louis IX in 1248.² Our church resembles the earlier work there rather than the later. The compound capitals on the north side of the main bay may be compared with those supporting the flying buttresses on the north of the choir there,³ the more elaborate one on the south with two inside that choir⁴ (Pl. LXXIV, 1, 2). The single capitals of the apse with formal imbricating leaves curling into rich buds (Pl. LXXIV, 3) resemble the type used in the window recesses of the ambulatory and transepts there,⁵ rather than the free naturalistic forms of the aisles and nave.⁶ These parallels are borne out by the bases, which have lost neither their upper torus nor their angle-spurs (*griffes*) (Fig. 7, p. 132, and Pl. LXXIV, 5 and 6). A more precise parallel is afforded by the moulding of the diagonal ribs; with their full middle roll ending in a slight arris and surmounted by a pronounced talon and upper roll (Fig. 7, p. 132), they may be compared with a voussoir from Nazareth,⁷ which must come from a building of the years 1229-44, the brief period when the Latins once more controlled the Holy Places there as the result of Frederick II's diplomacy. Similar parallels may be made with the western bays and façade of the cathedral of Țartūs near Tripoli and with displaced detail from the cloister of the abbey of Belmont, also near Tripoli;⁸ both churches embody typical French work of the first half of the thirteenth century. There is an even closer resemblance, in detail as well as in plan, with the round church in the castle itself, the ruins of which have yet to be examined fully.⁹

¹ St. George the Latin and St. Francis, Famagusta, Enlart, pp. 321 ff., and Jeffery, *Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, Nicosia, 1918, pp. 128 ff. for drawings of the former.

² Enlart, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, chap. IV.

³ *Ibid.*, Fig. 42, p. 107.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Fig. 35, p. 98.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Fig. 33, p. 95 and Fig. 39, p. 103.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Fig. 44, p. 112 and Fig. 48, p. 117.

⁷ Viaud, *Nazareth*, Paris, 1910, Fig. 59, p. 129; cf. Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem*, Pl. 136, Fig. 432.

⁸ Enlart, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 395 ff. and 50 ff., Atlas, Pls. 164 and 66-7 respectively.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Atlas, Pls. 27, 29, and 76.



1. THE NORTH SIDE OF THE CHURCH, AFTER CLEARING THE
BLOWN SAND, p. 122



2. THE INTERIOR, SHOWING THE WALL BENCH AND SANCTUARY
STEPS *in situ*, ALSO A FALLEN MASS OF *volutains*, pp. 122, 125; THE
NORTH-WEST WALL RECESS, JUST WEST OF THE STEPS, NOT
YET CLEARED, p. 128

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1. THE WEST AND SOUTH SIDES, AFTER CLEARING AWAY FALLEN MASONRY, pp. 122 ff.



2. THE INTERIOR, SHOWING PART OF THE WALL BENCH *in situ*, ALSO A MASS OF FALLEN *volutains*, pp. 122, 125; THE SOUTH-WEST WALL RECESS AS FOUND, p. 128

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1. WALL RECESS SOUTH OF THE ALTAR. AN EARTHENWARE DRAIN (PL. LXXV, 3), PROBABLY BELONGING TO A PISCINA, WAS FOUND BETWEEN THE RECESS AND THE LEFT-HAND SHAFT (VI), pp. 129 ff.



1. WALL RECESS WITH DRAIN, NORTH OF THE ALTAR, PROBABLY A PISCINA. THE LEFT-HAND BASE WAS CUT FROM A LARGER ROMAN BASE OF WHITE LIMESTONE, pp. 129 ff.

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1. COMPOUND CAPITAL BELONGING TO
PIER (I) IN MAIN BAY, SIDE VIEW



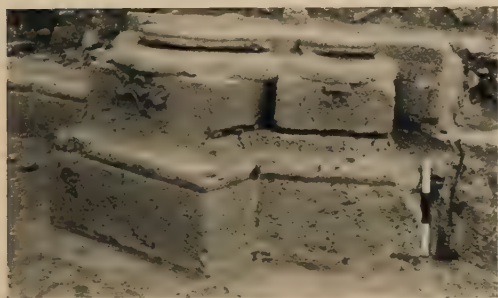
2. PART OF COMPOUND CAPITAL
BELONGING TO PIER (X) IN MAIN BAY,
FRONT VIEW



3. SINGLE CAPITAL FROM APSE



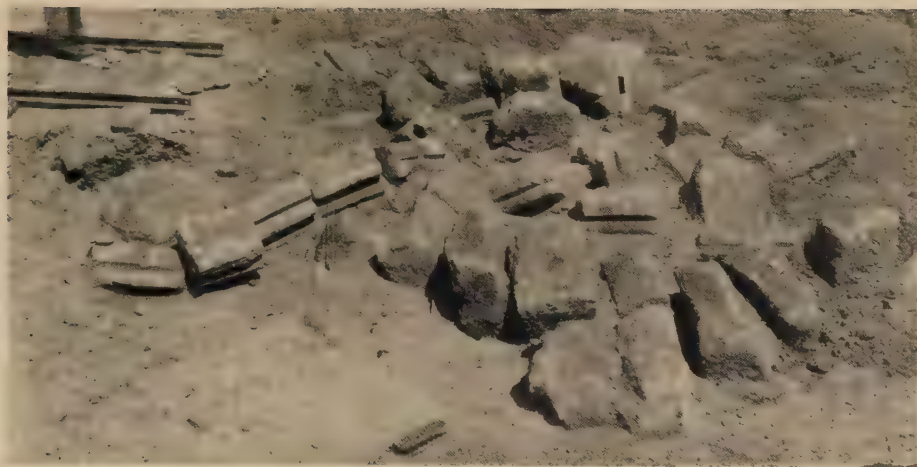
4. PART OF A FREE-STANDING
CAPITAL. Fig. 5, p. 130



5. BASE OF PIER (X) IN MAIN BAY



6. BASE OF SHAFT (VI) IN APSE



1. FALLEN CROSS-RIBS OF MAIN BAY *in situ*, pp. 122, 130



2. BOSS FOUND AMONG THE FALLEN RIBS
OF FIG. 1, p. 131



3. EARTHENWARE DRAIN *in situ*
BESIDE SHAFT VI, SOUTH OF
THE ALTAR, PROBABLY BE-
LONGING TO A PISCINA, p. 129



4. BURIAL FOUND UNDER THE FLOOR OF THE
MAIN BAY; FROM THE SOUTH, pp. 123, 134

'ATLIT, CHURCH IN THE SUBURB

Before its complete collapse a perspicacious traveller described it as 'a fine lofty church of ten sides, built in a light Gothic taste'.¹ Competent judges have since been struck by its resemblance in detail with the Sainte Chapelle, consecrated in 1246 just before Louis IX's crusade to the East, or with the ends of the transepts of Notre Dame of Paris, reconstructed shortly afterwards.² If the small church in the suburb was in fact a by-product of the great church in the castle, it must have been built in the years following the turn of the century.

Without pressing analogies in style between buildings so many miles apart, this is still a most likely date on other grounds. Within a few years there set in a phase of chronic insecurity, due to the annual invasions of the Crusaders' relentless enemy, the Mamluk sultan, Baybars. In the spring of 1264 it is recorded that one of his divisions vainly threatened the castle, but actually sacked the suburb before retiring to Egypt.³ In such circumstances it would have been sanguine to complete the building, or even to spend much upon making it serviceable. The fact is, it was never finished; the internal arrangements were hasty, slovenly work, and though temporary they were never replaced by something more in keeping with the original design. But as the burials show, the church was not destroyed immediately; to judge by the domestic rubbish, broken pots and glasses as well as animal remains, found on the floor, it survived to be used as a barracks by the enemy troops or by local squatters after it had been finally deserted by the Christians, probably when the castle was abandoned in the spring of 1291. The windows were doubtless pillaged then and missing details removed, such as the altar top, piscina support, &c. From the condition of the fabric and the distribution of fallen masonry, it would seem that it was eventually ruined by one of the periodic earthquakes which affect the country; presumably one of those recorded in Cyprus during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, since later travellers who visited the site noticed no such building at all.

C. N. JOHNS.

¹ Pococke, *Description of the East*, London, 1745, Vol. II, Part I, p. 57.

² Enlart, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 95.

³ Röhrich, 'Études sur les derniers temps du royaume de Jérusalem' in *Archives de l'Orient latin*, Vol. II, p. 378.



LEAD COFFINS FROM PALESTINE. II¹

IN the first part of this article thirteen lead coffins were published, some of which were found in excavations undertaken by the Department of Antiquities, while others remained unpublished in various Jerusalem collections. Here an attempt will be made to connect this new material with other known objects of the same kind.

Lead coffins resemble stone sarcophagi in purpose and decoration, but differ in the manner in which they were made. Their mode of production, by which a mechanical, or rather semi-mechanical, production was substituted for the variations inevitable in individual workmanship, enables us to classify and compare lead coffins by objective standards apart from the internal evidence of style.

The manner of production commonly adopted was the following. An artist prepared in some hard material a number of pattern pieces in relief, such as figures, columns, arches, rosettes, &c. These were taken by the master workman and pressed into a mould of wet sand or clay in accordance with an arrangement thought out in advance. Such arrangements followed in each workshop certain traditional lines. The mould once completed, the sides, bottom, and cover of the coffin were each cast separately and then soldered together; occasionally the two short sides and the bottom were cast in one piece. The patterns impressed in the mould would then stand out in relief on the coffin.

When another coffin had to be made, the same patterns (which, of course, could be used many times in succession) were rearranged for the new mould. Thus, although the arrangement and the technical standard of execution may vary from coffin to coffin within certain narrow limits, all coffins produced in the same workshop at one period show identical patterns.

As soon as a pattern went out of fashion or was damaged by repeated use, a new piece was introduced, while all the former patterns (as represented on coffins earlier in date), continued to be used together with the newcomer. This method of production resembles strongly that adopted by certain *terra sigillata* potters, especially in second- and third-century Gaul.²

We can assume with certainty that each workshop situated at one local centre had the monopoly of certain ornaments. This we can assert, even with our at present somewhat scanty information as to the provenance of many coffins, from a glance on the maps showing the distribution of coffins of various classes

¹ Continued from p. 99.

² Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine*, Paris, 1904, Vol. I, pp. 8 and 12.

(see below pp. 140 and 151). It must be remembered that the identity of a pattern by which lead coffins are traced to a common source is easily established. Mere imitation of one type by another factory can be detected readily.

It is more difficult to establish a correct dating sequence within a series of coffins and to bring such a sequence into relation with an absolute chronology. External indications of dating have hitherto been regrettably few.

In establishing a tentative line of evolution from the changes of pattern observed, the following precautions must be kept in mind: (*a*) a too rigid rule must be avoided; occasionally a new piece of pattern is introduced, then discarded, and then used again; (*b*) not all extant examples are complete; thus the absence of a pattern is not always a valid argument, unless the place of each detail of ornamentation be fairly well known. In such case the absence establishes a variation of type.

Another difficulty is how to determine a correct sequence within a class in the absence of a properly defined beginning and end. In at least one case, however, there is a well defined decadent stage. By working backwards from coffins showing the degenerated ornament to the better types a chronological scheme may be evolved. This order of reasoning has, of course, been reversed in presenting our results.

The coffins published on pp. 87-99, together with other coffins in the Palestine Archaeological Museum published elsewhere,¹ appear to be the products of the four following workshops:

Class A. Tyre

This class represents the products of a factory situated somewhere in southern Phoenicia, probably at Tyre,² as will be seen from the distribution map, Fig. 1.

This factory produced coffins in great quantity (about half of the extant examples belong to this class) and for a fairly long time.

The characteristics of the class as a whole are as follows (Fig. 2, 1-4, p. 144):

1. The front short side represents the front of a temple.
2. The long sides are divided into panels by a row of columns, resting on a winding vine plant and supporting a frieze filled with a straight wreath of laurel.
3. The cover represents a vine trellis framed in two laurel wreaths.
4. The back short side usually shows a star formed by cables.

¹ E. T. R. in this *Quarterly* (henceforward referred to as *QDAP*), I, p. 36, Pl. XXIX and M. Avigad in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (henceforward quoted as *JHS*), 1930, pp. 300-12.

² *JHS*, 1930, p. 308.

List of Coffins of Class A

1. Fragments of long sides and cover. Provenance unknown, now in the Museum of the Orthodox Patriarchate, Jerusalem (*QDAP*, IV, pp. 87-9, Pl. LV).
2. Fragments of short and long sides and of cover. Provenance: ez Zib. Now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum (*JHS*, 1930, pp. 300-10, Pl. XII, 1; *QDAP*, IV, pp. 89 f., Pl. LV).



FIG. 1.

3. Fragment of short side. Provenance unknown, now in the Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels (Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Album d'antiquités orientales*, Paris, 1897 (henceforward referred to as *Album*), Pl. L, No. 7; Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* 1922-3, Paris, 1926, p. 150, n. 5).
- 4-8. Three fragments of long sides, one fragment of a short side, fragments of long

LEAD COFFINS FROM PALESTINE. II

and short sides joined. Provenance unknown,¹ now in the Istanbul Museum (A. Müfid, *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* (henceforward referred to as *AA*), 1932, c. 390-13, Figs. 1-5).

9. Fragment of long side. Provenance: Syria, now in the Museum Antiker Kleinkunst, Munich. Unpublished.²

10-11. Fragments of short and long sides and of covers of two coffins with identical decoration. Provenance: Syria, now in the Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim, Germany, Inv. Nos. 2644 and 2645. Unpublished.²

12. Fragment of a cover from Sidon, now in the Musée National, Beirut. Unpublished.²

13. Coffin. Provenance unknown, now in the Istanbul Museum (*AA*, c. 399 f., Fig. 13).

14. Cover, as preceding (*AA*, c. 406, Fig. 16).

15. Coffin. Provenance unknown, now in the Istanbul Museum (*AA*, c. 411 ff., Figs. 21-3).

16. Fragment of short side. Provenance unknown, now in the Musée National Beirut. Unpublished.

17. Short side. Provenance unknown, now in the Istanbul Museum (*AA*, c. 442, Fig. 45).

18. Coffin. Provenance unknown, now in the Istanbul Museum (*AA*, c. 417 f., Figs. 24-6).

19. Fragment of a long side. As preceding (*AA*, c. 419 f., Fig. 27).

20. Fragment of a long side. As preceding (*AA*, c. 419, Fig. 28).

20A. Fragment of long side. Provenance unknown, now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, Inv. No. IN 2084 C.²

21. Long and short sides. As preceding (*AA*, c. 421 f., Figs. 29-30).

22. Coffin. Provenance: Maḥālib. Now in the Musée National, Beirut (Virolleaud in *Syria*, 1924, pp. 46-9, Pl. XVI; with a note by R. Dussaud).

23. Fragment of long side. Provenance unknown, now in the Musée National, Beirut. Unpublished.

24. Fragment of long side. Provenance unknown, now in the Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels (*Album*, Pl. L, No. 1).

25. Coffin. Provenance: Biyud es Said, near Tyre. Now in the Leyden Museum (J. P. J. Brant in *JHS*, 1932, p. 262 f., Pl. XI f.).

26. Coffin. Provenance: Syria. Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (C. Alexander in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1932, No. 6, pp. 155-7, 2 Figs.).

27. Short side. Provenance unknown, now in the Musée National, Beirut. Unpublished.

¹ The indications of provenance given in the old Istanbul register are not used. Their evidence is also rejected by M. Müfid (*AA*, c. 400 f.). This view is confirmed by the unsuccessful efforts of MM. Perdrizet and Fossey to obtain any information about lead coffins at Ḥomṣ, one of the alleged places of origin (*BCH*, vol. xxi, p. 68, n. 1).

² I have to thank the Director of the Museum Antiker Kleinkunst for a photograph of coffin No. 9; the Keeper of the Pelizaeus Museum for a photograph of coffins Nos. 10-11; M. l'Émir M. Chéhab, Keeper of the Musée National, for permission to make reference to this and four other unpublished coffins and for the facilities very kindly allowed me for their study during my visit to Beirut; and the Keeper, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, for photographs of Nos. 20A, 27A.

- 27A. Fragments of coffin. As No. 20A, Inventory No. IN 2084.
28. Coffin. Provenance unknown, now in the Istanbul Museum (*AA*, c. 425 f., Figs. 31-4).
29. Fragment of cover. Provenance unknown, now in the Musée National, Beirut. Unpublished.
30. Short side. Provenance unknown, now in the Istanbul Museum (*AA*, c. 442, Fig. 46).
31. Fragment of long side. Provenance unknown, now in the Musée du Cinquante-naire, Brussels (*Album*, Pl. L, No. 8).
32. Long side. Provenance: Syria, now in the Cairo Museum (C. C. Edgar, *Catalogue général, Græco-Egyptian coffins*, Cairo, 1905, p. 13, Pl. VI, 2. Cat. No. 33125).
33. Coffin. Provenance unknown, now in the Istanbul Museum (*AA*, c. 427 f., Fig. 35, c. 429 f., Figs. 26-7).
34. Short side. As preceding (*AA*, c. 441 f., Fig. 44).
35. Coffin. As preceding (*AA*, c. 431 f., Fig. 38, c. 433 f., Fig. 40-1).
36. Fragment of long side. Provenance: Ruād (Aradus) (?) (de Saulcy, *Voyage en Syrie et autour de la Mer Morte*, Paris, 1853, Pl. XXI).
37. Long side. Provenance unknown, now in the Istanbul Museum (*AA*, c. 431 f., Fig. 39).
38. Long side. Now in the Musée du Cinquante-naire, Brussels (*Album*, Pl. L, No. 4).
39. Fragment of cover. Provenance unknown, now in the Istanbul Museum (*AA*, c. 437 f., Fig. 43).
40. Long side. Provenance unknown, now in the Musée du Cinquante-naire, Brussels (*Album*, Pl. L, No. 2-3).
41. Fragment of long side. Provenance unknown, now in the Istanbul Museum (*AA*, c. 437 f., Fig. 42).
42. Coffin. Provenance: el Bi'na, now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum (*QDAP*, IV, p. 91 f., Pl. LVI).
43. Coffin. Provenance: Nesher Factory, near Haifa, now in the Palestine Archaeo-logical Museum (*QDAP*, IV, p. 93, Pl. LVI).
44. Coffin. As preceding (*QDAP*, IV, p. 93, Pl. LVI).
45. Fragment of long side. Provenance: Phoenicia, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (referred to *AA*, 1897, p. 428).¹
- 46-7. As preceding.
48. Fragment of short side. As preceding.
49. Fragment of cover. As preceding.
50. Coffin. Provenance: Hanāwe, now in the Louvre (*AA*, 1932, p. 428).

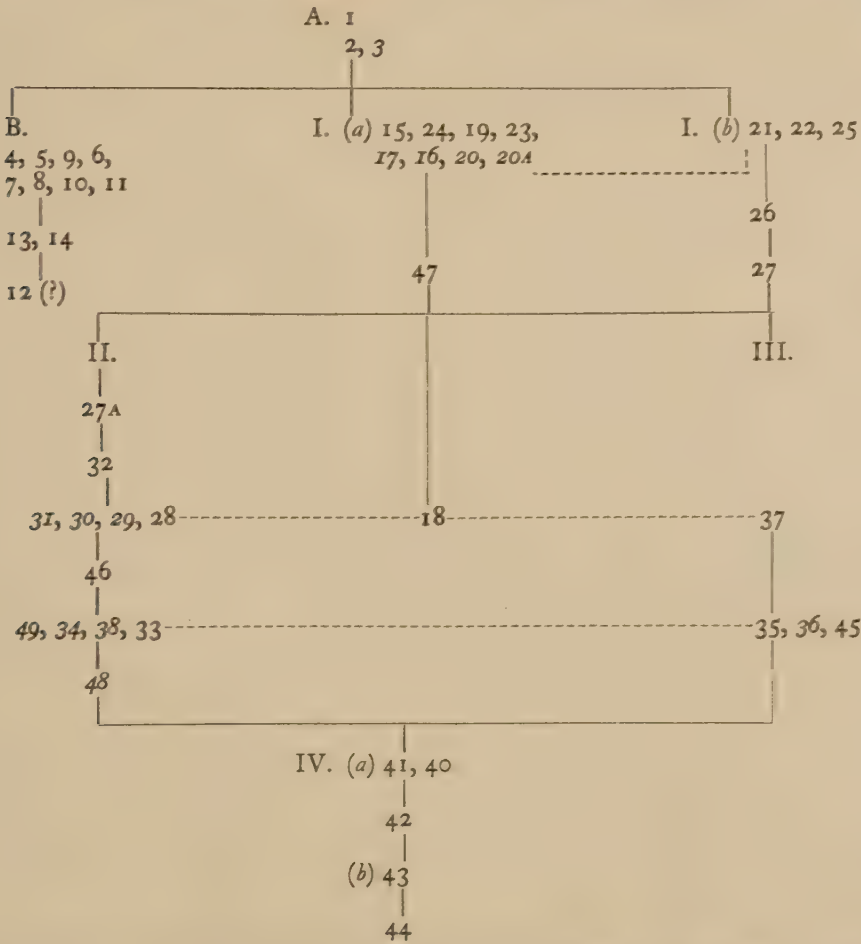
Main group A. No. 1 belongs to this class as it has the characteristic triple bunch of laurel leaves and a vine trellis on the cover; otherwise it differs from all other coffins of the class (with one exception). It is distinguished by a type of decoration recalling Hellenistic prototypes by the prevalence of figures on a bare background without any Oriental 'arabesque' pattern and the free,

¹ I have to thank the Keeper of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for photographs of this and the subsequent coffins.

LEAD COFFINS FROM PALESTINE. II

though isocephalic, arrangement of the figures without a division of the long side into compartments. The figures are all of pagan deities, and most of them do not occur on any other coffin. One of them, however, a shepherd holding a *pedum* (Fig. 3, No. 24) enables us to connect this coffin with No. 2 and also to assign Nos. 4-14 to this class as a distinct group B.

Diagram showing the development of style in Class A



Note. Letters indicate main groups, roman numerals subgroups, arabic numerals are numbers of coffins in the preceding list. Unbroken lines indicate suggested lines of development, broken lines parallelism. Numbers printed in roman type refer to complete coffins or long sides, numbers in italics to short sides, covers or fragmentary long sides. Numbers printed together indicate close resemblance of decoration.

Group B. This group is of a somewhat degenerate character, its ornament including, besides the satyr referred to above, other figures with plump columns and clumsy wreaths. To the main body of this group, Nos. 4-8, now in the Istanbul Museum, Nos. 9-11 have been added because of identity of ornament, No. 14 because the figure of the satyr is reproduced on it, and No. 13 because it repeats a vine scroll found on No. 14. No. 12 seems also to be related to this group.

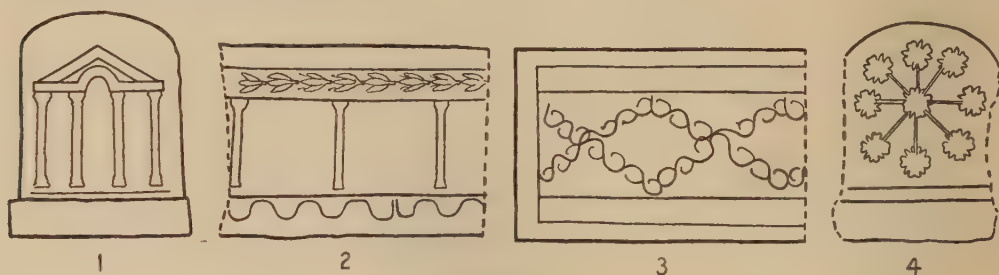


FIG. 2.

Analysis of group A. No. 2 is of great importance, as it furnishes the connecting link between No. 1, group B, and the rest of the coffins of class A. In this coffin the figure of the satyr is repeated together with long sides showing the arrangement characteristic of subgroups I to IV.¹ No. 3 repeats the use of a vine trellis as a gable found in No. 2 (Fig. 3, No. 16).

In subgroups I to IV the long side is divided into six panels by a row of columns. The same columns appear also supporting a gable on the short side. The lower side of the gable forms an arch between the two central columns, thus describing what is called a 'Syrian archivolt'.²

In the panels of the long side we see in the centre a sphinx alternating with a Gorgon's head; in the corners are either dolphins, bunches of laurel, or kraters, the intervals between which are filled with vine leaves.

Subgroup I (a) and (b). The columns are spirally fluted for the upper two-thirds of their length and plain below (Fig. 3, No. 20). The laurel leaves have protruding wavy edges and the veins in the centre are almost obliterated (Fig. 3, No. 5). The vine leaf has a trefoil outline with raised edges and a twisted tendril (Fig. 3, No. 8). The sphinx is always crouched. The back short side shows in most coffins of this subgroup eight rays formed by cables proceeding from a rosette or a Gorgon's head and ending in rosettes³ with vine leaves occasionally dispersed between them.

¹ By overlooking this coffin M. Müfid was led to separate group B from group A, thus creating two classes where there is only one.

² Cf. note 1 on p. 92 above.

³ There are four types of rosettes in this group (Fig. 3, Nos. 12 to 15): (a) Fig. 3, No. 12 as in



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15



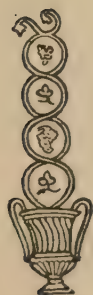
16



17



18



19



20



21



22



23



24

FIG. 3.

Nos. 15-17, 19-20, 20A, 23-4 have been placed together because of their close resemblance. Nos. 21, 22, and 25-7 have been separated as having a winding vine plant (Fig. 3, No. 19) as part of their decoration, which occurs also in 20A, otherwise closely resembling No. 20. Nos. 21-2 and 24 have a gable filled with vine branches (Fig. 3, No. 17). No. 26 is placed later, as its gable shows a transition to the later style; No. 27 is placed still later as its gable (Fig. 3, No. 18) has the full characteristics of the later style common in subgroups II to IV. No. 47 has been separated from I (a) as bearing a close resemblance to 18, which again is shown by its cover to be of one period with No. 28, and to agree in the use of the sitting sphinx with both 28 and 37.

Subgroup II. The shafts of the columns are two-thirds fluted straight and one-third plain (Fig. 3, No. 21). No. 27A shows this column together with laurel and vine leaves of the first type and in general resembles rather closely No. 21. It has therefore been placed first in this group. No. 32 has been placed next in this sub-group as it has laurel leaves of a transitional style between types 1 and 2, and a vine leaf of the earlier style. No. 28 continues this type with a rosette of type (c). No. 46 repeats the types of No. 28 but shows in part the laurel leaf of the transitional style (Fig. 3, No. 6); hence it is placed between 28 and 33. In No. 28, on the back short sides, vine leaves replace the rosettes; this applies also to Nos. 29-31, all of which have been therefore placed together. On the other hand, No. 33, the next coffin of this subgroup, is placed later as it shows both the laurel and the vine leaves of the second style (Fig. 3, Nos. 6 and 9). Both the laurel and vine leaves are flatter and show the veins. The cover of 33 corresponds to the covers of 38 and 35; all three have therefore been placed on one level. No. 33 is also placed together with 34, as their short sides resemble each other, and with 38 and 49 as their covers are similar. No. 48 already shows a leaf of the second and third (late) types; as it agrees in all other details with 34 it has been placed between this coffin and the subsequent group.

Subgroup III. The columns are twisted throughout their entire length (Fig. 3, No. 22). No. 37 shows a laurel leaf of the first type together with a vine leaf of the second; it has hence been placed first in this subgroup. No. 35 combines the second and third type of laurel leaves with the first and second type of vine leaf, it belongs therefore clearly to the middle of the transitional period. This applies also to 45. No. 36 resembles the long side of 35.

coffin No. 2; (b) a type with four double and four single leaves and a raised centre (Fig. 3, No. 13 in coffins Nos. 15, 16, 17, 18, 22); (c) a similar type with its centre flatter (Fig. 3, No. 14; coffins Nos. 28 and 35); (d) a type with twelve equal leaves and a sunk centre with a button (Fig. 3, No. 15, coffins Nos. 18 and 49).

Subgroup IV. All coffins of this group have the third type of laurel leaf (outstanding in bold relief, veins deeply marked, leaves joined closely together (Fig. 3, No. 7)). The 'vine' leaf resembles ivy (Fig. 3, No. 10). No. 41 shows a twisted column together with a column marked with a bead-and-reel pattern (Fig. 3, No. 23) which occurs also on No. 40. In No. 40 appears a double laurel leaf, which is repeated in No. 42. No. 41 has a helmeted bust of Minerva which is also repeated in No. 42. These are the characteristics of this subgroup; No. 42 has been placed later than 40-41, as it has several features unique in this class, such as a single leaf. Nos. 43-4 do not show the laurel leaf and have hence been assigned to a separate group IV (*b*). These coffins repeat, however, the gable of type three (Fig. 3, No. 18) and one of them the column of type two (Fig. 3, No. 21). In all other respects they show a gradual debasement of the decoration. The moulded gable is in one case shown without columns, floating in the air. Fishes of an awkward shape replace the dolphins, and the ivy leaves are much stylized (Fig. 3, No. 11). The decoration is extremely simplified. The last coffin of this series has a lid crossed by two cable lines and covered with circles. If we replace the circles by loops the decoration is very similar to that of class C.

Dating. In the absence of closely datable objects found in or with the coffins all attempts at dating are made on internal evidence and differ widely.

Since the publication of Colonna-Ceccaldi¹ based on information by Péretié,² some lead coffins of this class have been dated from the middle third to the third quarter of the fourth century A.D. Thus M. Dussaud dates No. 22 to the fourth century.³ On the other hand, M. Cumont once regarded the second century as a possible *terminus a quo*.⁴ The present writer arrived independently at the same conclusion as regards No. 25 and has been supported in his view by Miss C. Alexander in dating No. 26.⁶ J. P. J. Brant, however, regarded No. 25 as belonging to the third century⁷ and M. Müfid agrees with M. Dussaud in placing the coffins of subgroups I-III in the third or early fourth century A.D.⁸ M. Cumont appears now to agree with M. Dussaud.⁹

It seems, however, possible to reconcile these divergent views at least in part, by assuming that the development in style indicated above took some time. No. 42 is the only coffin accompanied by dating evidence, viz. pottery of the late third or early fourth century A.D. As it is one of the latest of this class, we

¹ *Revue archéologique*, 1869, I, p. 224 (cf. *Syria*, 1924, p. 48, n. 2).

² R. Dussaud in *Syria*, *ibid*.

³ As note 2.

⁴ *Antiquités acquises par les Musées Royaux depuis 1900*, p. 48 (quoted by Miss Alexander).

⁵ *JHS*, 1930, p. 310.

⁶ See the reference to No. 26 on p. 141.

⁷ *JHS*, 1932, pp. 263.

⁸ *AA*, c. 446.

⁹ *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, Paris, 1926, p. 150, n. 5.

should then place subgroup IV in the transition from the third to the fourth century, subgroups II and III to the third, subgroup I to the transition between the second and third centuries, and Nos. 1-3 to the later half of the second century A.D. We cannot yet decide on the proper dating for the B group.¹

A few cases of parallels between this and other classes may be mentioned in conclusion. Thus the gable of type two (Fig. 3, No. 17) occurs also on a child's coffin of the Ashrafiyeh style.² Such repetitions are very rare. Imitations, on the other hand, are frequent. This applies especially to the wreaths of laurel leaves, which appear in a more or less debased style on several coffins in the Beirut Museum; the crosswise arrangement of these leaves on No. 39 is also repeated on some Beirut coffins.

Class B. Ascalon

Coffins of this class have hitherto been found mainly in southern Palestine, in the vicinity of Ascalon. There one has to look for their factory.

The first coffin of this class is linked to the preceding by the use of the tetrastyle temple with twisted columns and the Syrian archivolt on its short side and the division of the long side into compartments. The winding plant in the first and third intercolumnar space also recalls coffins in class A. In the second coffin the straight wreath of laurel leaves resembles the wreath formed by bunches of laurel in coffins of the former class. On the other hand, the third coffin of this class shows a loop, characteristic of class C.

Apart from the fact of their geographical proximity, the coffins of this class are connected (a) No. 1 and 2 by the use of the same type of rosette; (b) No. 1 and 3 by the repetition of the vine trellis.

One cannot, however, deny that there seems to be a great difference between the first two coffins of this class. No. 1 is evidently pagan, while No. 2 shows innocuous plant and genre subjects. The explanation which suggests itself would be that between the first and second burial in the common tomb an event occurred which would make the continuation of the manufacture of the old pagan types undesirable. Such an event is indicated by the spread of Christianity in the fourth century. The new type of decoration, with its predominance of the vine trellis would suit pagan and Christian purchasers alike, as it could be interpreted with reference to both the Dionysiac mysteries and to a popular type of Christian symbolism.

¹ Should our dating be regarded as too high, a comparison may be invited between these supposedly fourth-century coffins and the undoubtedly third-century work of Class C. It should be noted that recent discoveries (J. H. Iliffe, in *QDAP*, III, pp. 84-88) show that a higher dating than the current one is to be preferred for many objects of the Late Antique found in Palestine.

² P. Mouterde, *Syria*, 1929, pp. 238 ff.

Dating. The last coffin of this class, No. 3, is dated by coins of Constantine found with it to the middle fourth century. It is a late example of this class, as can be seen from the stylized vine, with triangular leaves marked in outline and grapes represented by clusters of dots. (Cf. the graceful windings and naturalistic design in No. 2. The general principle of decoration, however, is the same in both, with a vine trellis crossing and re-crossing the lid and the long sides.) No. 2 would therefore appear earlier, and it seems not unreasonable to assign it to the early fourth century. No. 1 again, though found in the same tomb as No. 2 appears to be earlier than No. 2 because of its pagan character. This would date No. 1 to the end of the third century A.D., a date well in agreement with its style.

List of Coffins of Class B

1. Excavated at a tomb near Ni'ilya, in the neighbourhood of Ascalon; now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum (*QDAP*, IV, p. 94 f., Pl. LVII).
2. Found with the preceding (*QDAP*, IV, p. 95 f., Pl. LVII).
3. Found at Kh. el Khasās, near Ascalon (E. T. R. in *QDAP*, I, p. 36, Pl. XXIX, 1 and 2; M. Avi-Yonah in *JHS*, 1930, p. 311 f., Pl. XII, 3).
4. Found by Dr. E. L. Sukenik near Hederah colony (*QDAP*, II, p. 185).¹

Class C. Jerusalem

Coffins of this class are found in the vicinity of Jerusalem (see Fig. 4, p. 151), and were therefore in all probability manufactured there. This class is characterized by crossing lines of cable pattern, fields decorated with loops, and framed panels representing: (1) the Syrian funerary eagle in a distyle temple, (2) panels showing a Victory, (3) panel showing two Cupids. The various types of ornamentation are analysed in the following table:

	Nos.	1	2	3-6	7	8	9	10	11
Loops . . .		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Crossing cables . . .		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	—
Gorgon mask . . .		×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
„ in loop . . .		×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lions . . .		×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Paris . . .		×	—	×	—	—	—	—	—
Bunch of grapes . . .		×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
Syrian eagle in temple . . .		—	×	×	—	—	—	—	—
„ „ loop . . .		—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cupids . . .		—	—	×	×	×	×	×	×
Victory . . .		—	—	—	×	×	×	—	—

× = present

— = absent

¹ This coffin, decorated with a vine trellis in relief, an arch with twisted columns, and a Cupid holding a bunch of grapes, may be related to this class.

There are two groups in this class. The first is represented by two coffins from the el 'Eizariya tomb. It is linked to the second group by the repetition of a panel representing the Syrian funerary eagle on No. 2 and No. 3 and by a repetition of the group of Paris and of grapes in a loop on Nos. 1 and 3. The general type of decoration, viz. crossing cables and loops, also supports this relation. The factory mark of the second group is the panel showing two Cupids and measuring 9 by 7 cm. By this panel even the small fragments of No. 11 could be identified as belonging to this class.

Dating. In *JHS*, 1930, p. 311, No. 9 of this class was dated by the present writer (on internal evidence) as belonging to the third century A.D. This dating has now been confirmed by the find of coins of Julia Domna (empress A.D. 173-217) with four coffins of this class, Nos. 3-6. The coffins of the first group are probably a little earlier, though there is no direct evidence of their date.

List of Coffins of Class C

Group A. 1. Found in a tomb at el 'Eizariya, now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum (*QDAP*, IV, p. 96 f., Pl. LVIII).

2. Found with the preceding (*QDAP*, IV, p. 96 f., Pl. LVIII).

Group B. 3-6. Found in tombs on the site of the Y.M.C.A. sports ground (*QDAP*, IV, p. 97 f., Pl. LIX).

7. Found near the Syrian Orphanage, Jerusalem, now in its Museum (*QDAP*, IV, p. 98 f., Pl. LIX).

8. Found with the preceding (*QDAP*, IV, p. 99).

9. Found at Ramallah (E. T. R. in *QDAP*, I, p. 36, Pl. XXIX, 3; M. Avi-Yonah in *JHS*, 1930, p. 310 f., Pl. XII, 2).

10. Found at Abu Ghosh; now in the Museum of the Benedictine Monastery (Lauffs in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1915, p. 296).

11. Fragments of lead coffin found in a tomb in the Beit Israel Quarter, Jerusalem, by Salim Eff. Husseini, Assistant Inspector of Antiquities. Unpublished.

Class. D. Jerusalem

The only coffin of this class is definitely Christian, being decorated with Latin crosses and the monogram ✠ . It can be dated rather more closely than the others to the middle fourth century by the use of a Constantinian medal to make a decorative impression on a gold leaf found in it. Another sign of a late date is the replacing of crossing cable lines by plain bands.¹

1. Found in a tomb near the Syrian Orphanage, Jerusalem, and kept in its Museum (*QDAP*, IV, p. 99, Pl. LIX-X).

¹ Similar crossing lines decorated with a flower ornament were found on a child's sarcophagus, now in the Musée National, Beirut, together with a representation of the three Graces.

LEAD COFFINS FROM PALESTINE. II

2. A small lead plaque bearing the monogram thus Φ , of unknown provenance, now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, might have belonged to a coffin related to the preceding one.

*Conclusion.*¹ The archaeological, artistic, and religious associations of lead coffins have been discussed by M. Cumont in *Les Fouilles de Doura-Europos*,



FIG. 4

1922-3, p. 150 ff., by R. P. Mouterde in *Syria*, 1929, pp. 247-9, by Arif Müfid in *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1932, c. 423-46, by J. P. J. Brant in *JHS*, 1932, p. 262 f.,² and by the author in *JHS*, 1930, pp. 302-9.

¹ Mention may be made here of some lead coffins found in Palestine of which no trace remains: in the Carmel area one at Jaba' (E. v. Mühlinen, *ZDPV*, 1908, p. 192) and one at Kh. Sa'ade (*ibid.*, p. 20); at Tell Nuqeid, near Gaza, several (Musil, *Edom*, II, p. 53); one at Tell Mazār in the Jordan valley (Abel, *Revue biblique*, 1913, p. 227); the last one was used by Beduins for casting bullets.

² J. P. J. Brant also drew attention to the similarity of the decoration of lead coffins and *terra*

In order to assign to the lead coffins their proper place in Graeco-Roman industrial art, one must assess rightly the determining factors of time, place, makers, and public.

1. The time is that of a decaying Classical tradition.
2. The place, the coast of an Eastern province of the Roman Empire, with a population still predominantly Semitic under a thin veneer of Hellenism.
3. The makers are local artisans who for each cast re-arranged stereotyped patterns furnished by some industrial designer, who himself copied the work of others, the result being an offspring of Greek art thrice removed. These designers copied metal work, statues, reliefs, and engraved stones, drawing upon the common stock of Graeco-Roman subjects, a sort of conventional artistic κοινή indifferently used in Greece, Asia Minor, Phoenicia, Italy, Gaul, and everywhere readily understood by the Hellenized or Romanized populations. The models used in this particular case seem to have been the standard types elaborated in the fourth century B.C. and Neo-Attic decorative work rather than the classic art of the fifth century B.C. Nevertheless, it is just by using the Greek types that the artists prove the decay of the Greek spirit which still animated their prototypes, the Neo-Attic reliefs, chased silver work of Asia Minor and Alexandria, and Greek pottery in relief. The single elements of decoration are grouped in an arbitrary fashion, without much regard to the correct representation of myths and legends from which these elements were originally derived. The manufacturer was placing the ready-made patterns as he fancied.¹ This is in strong contrast with the Greek vases in reliefs, where identifiable representations of mythological and literary subjects occur.²
4. The public of these artists were the upper middle class, mostly farmers, who were rich enough to be above a simple clay coffin, but not rich enough to pay for an expensive marble or stone sarcophagus.

Taking all this into consideration it is astonishing how high a decorative level was reached in some of the earlier coffins. Some observers have been reminded of the fantastic effects of the third Pompeian style. All the elements are derived from purely Hellenistic prototypes with no direct evidence of the numerous native divinities of the Phoenician coast.

In the later stages there is a re-emergence of Oriental elements (the Syrian

sigillata. Imports of the latter from Gaul are attested by finds at Samaria and Beisân (J. H. Iliffe, *QDAP*, II, p. 126).

¹ *B.M. Catalogue, Roman Pottery*, p. xx; Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine*, I, p. 1.

² F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs*, Paris, 1922, pp. 283-326.

LEAD COFFINS FROM PALESTINE. II

eagle, the vine trellis, and loops). In the fourth century there is also a falling off in the technical standard, defective dies are used, the parts of columns are badly adjusted. The decorative exuberance disappears and is replaced by the plain style of the later coffins with evident loss of artistic capacity. In comparison with the later workers even the makers of the early coffins appear to be creative artists in their use of the various combinations of patterns. Nevertheless lead coffins continued to be used in the fifth century A.D. as is attested by literary sources.¹

M. AVI-YONAH.

¹ Cf. Mouterde in *Syria*, 1929, p. 249, n. 5. The story in the *Plerophories* of John Rufus, bishop of Maiumas (*Patrologia orientalis*, ed. Nau, VIII, p. 107, par. LII) which Clermont-Ganneau (*Recueil d'archéol. orientale*, III, p. 240) took to refer to lead coffins of the kind discussed here, refers in reality to lead coffins used to transport the bodies of the deceased from one place to another, as they are used to this day.

Additional Note. Since the above was written the Department has received through the kindness of the Württembergisches Landesamt für Denkmalspflege photographs of a lead coffin in the Stuttgart Museum, belonging to Class A, group B (See pp. 139-148). This coffin (No. 51) furnishes a second connecting link between groups A and B (see p. 144) and is helpful in placing group B in chronological relation with group A (p. 148). This coffin combines a very complete series of the degenerate types of group B (including a modified type imitating the satyr, Fig. 3, No. 24) and one short side of characteristic B type (cf. AA, c. 393, Fig. 5) with another short side and a cover of late A type. The second short side has a gable as in Fig. 3, No. 18, vine leaves of type 9 in Fig. 3, and wobbly columns as in the later coffins of subgroup IV. On the cover we find on the other hand vine leaves of type 8 (Fig. 3) and rosettes of a kind similar to but later than No. 14 in Fig. 3. On the whole the cover resembles most closely that of No. 46. This places it between Nos. 28 and 35, both of which resemble it in certain details. In view of its obviously transitional character coffin No. 51 is placed first in group B. So far the links between it and No. 2 (which represents a point at which the factory of Class A was still united) are missing. Coffin No. 51 might be assigned to the late third century. It is interesting to note that the provenance of this coffin, viz. Tyre, agrees with the place assigned to the manufacture of coffins of this class (p. 140).

EVLIYA TSHELEBI'S TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. II.¹

fo. 86^r,
1. 5. **T**HERE is a yellow, oblong, whetstone-like stone in this auspicious House. Ibrāhīm, the Friend of Allāh, used it as a pillow for his head, the impression of which is still visible. Several of the detestable Franks tried to extract it from its place and to steal it. Yet they were unable to chip off even one *qīrāt* of it. So they left it as it was. Some of them perished thereby. The survivors fled. The noble 'House' is still a shrine for high and low. Many thousand thanks to the Creator that I too have been enabled to visit it.

In a rocky stretch of land north of this shrine is the sanctuary of Šiddīq, son of Ifrāin, son of Yūsuf, son of Ya'qūb—peace be on both of them. It is a large shrine which Ghāzi Sinān Pāsha² built over the place where Ḥaẓret-i Šiddīq was buried. Schismatics (*rāfiẓiler*) are yet living in it. They believe in him, and when they take an oath they swear 'by Ḥaẓret-i Šiddīq'.

fo. 86^r,
1. 10. Farther south lies the village of 'Aneḇta, situated in a valley and inhabited by one hundred Druze families.

Another hour's journey to the south is the village of *Sūq-i 'Atīq*. 'Anōq, the father of 'Öj, is buried there in a cave in a ravine. This village consists of two hundred houses of loathsome Druzes. It is called *Qaryat as-Sūq* (village of the Market) because of the market held there once a week.

Then comes the village of *Ḥīsh*,³ with one hundred houses of accursed believers in the transmigration of souls (*tenāsukhi mezhebindén*). Yet what beautiful boys and girls they have! And what a climate! Every one of these girls has queenly, gazelle-like, bewitching eyes, which captivate the beholder—an unusual sight. The following hemistich is about them.⁴

We passed this village by. The bottom of the slope is called *Wādi al-Ḥīsh* (the Valley of *Ḥīsh*), and it is like the bottom of Hell (*derek-i esfel*), a terrifying, dangerous, and insecure place. Our comrades, detailed to accompany us
fo. 86^r,
1. 15. (on our tour) from Šaida, lost their heads. With our arms in readiness, we passed it safely and without being plundered, thank God. From this village we had a narrow escape to the village of *Yāzūn*,⁵ which also consists of one hundred houses of schismatics. Thence. . .

¹ Continued from p. 108.

² With regard to other buildings erected by Sinān Pāsha in Galilee cf. Samuel Yemshel in *Ozar Massa'oth*, ed. Eisenstein, 1926, p. 200 (Mosque at Sa'sa'); Ḥājji Khalifa, *Ḥihānnumā*, p. 568, l. 7 (Caravanserai at 'Uyūn at-Tujjār), and the bazaar at Šafad, *v. infra*, p. 145.

³ P.E.F. map, IV, P.e.

⁴ The hemistich is not mentioned in the manuscript nor is a space provided for it.

⁵ Yārūn, cf. Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, London, 1841, Vol. III, p. 371, P.E.F. map, IV, O.e.

DESCRIPTION OF THE VILLAGE OF 'AIN AZ-ZEITŪN¹ (SPRING OF OLIVES) AND 'AIN MEIRŪN¹

These are two springs in the village of *Yāzūn*, on the slopes of Mount Zābūl,² west of Şafad. There are huge caves above 'Ain Meirūn, each holding from one to two thousand people. There is also a cave dating back to the times of 'Ād b. Shaddād. It has huge rock-cut basins, but they do not contain a single drop of water. When the time of the Jewish feast approaches, i.e. the notorious (Feast of the) Tabernacles (*qāmish*),³ all people ('*Arab ve 'ajem*'), mostly Druzes, Timānis, Yezīdis, and Mervānis, are wont to assemble there—a dangerous crowd, counting several thousands. Like a great body of soldiers they assemble inside the cave and wait there.

Now on the day of the Jewish Festival a thunder comes from those rocks (by fo. 86^r, divine agency), and clear water wells up, filling to the brim all those tanks and l. 20. reservoirs which remain empty throughout the year. The ground (sc. in front of the caves?) becomes like a parade ground (or: a 'battle-field', *kuran kurang*). All the different communities go in and bathe. Every one who lies under a spell, or any one who is poisoned, or any one who suffers from recurrent fever or rheumatism, or any one afflicted by any other trouble, will so recover from his unhappy condition and gain a new lease of life, as by a miracle (*hikmēt ilē*).

Thus for three days and nights several thousands of people enjoy life in this way. They fill their bottles, flasks, and jars with this life-giving water in order to obtain a blessing (*tabarrukan*). As 'Meirūn Water' they send it over land and sea to every country, as it is a remedy for seventy ailments. After three days the water disappears again. Late comers have to drink from what remains in the tanks and take it away with them.

The belief held by the inhabitants of the district about it is that it represents fo. 86^r, a single tear of Ya'qūb. They say that Ya'qūb and Ishāq inhabited these l. 25. caves. (In fact they offer a magnificent view.) As it was not the season when I happened to visit the place, not a single drop of water was to be found in the tanks. I merely made my two prostrations and recited my prayers. Within eleven hours we had left behind the villages so visited.

¹ P.E.F. map, IV, P.f.

² For the tradition that Şafad is in the territory of the tribe of Zebulun cf. also Hājji Khalifa, *Ḥihānumā*, p. 568, l. 7 from bottom.

³ This is a pardonable mistake. The Jewish festival which attracts crowds of pilgrims to Meiron is held on the so-called Lag be-Omer, the 18th Iyar, on the 33rd day after the beginning of Passover.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CITADEL OF THE COUNTRY
OF THE JEWS, ŞAFAD¹

The first borough (*qaşaba*) on the face of the mountains to be inhabited after the Deluge was that of Jūdi, near the town of Mōşul. About it the verse was inspired (Qur'ān, XI. 46), 'And it [sc. the Ark] rested on the Jūdi'.² Then Sām, son of Nūḥ, built Damascus and this town of Şafad.

fo. 86r, It was inhabited till the time of Ya'qūb, when an innumerable host lived in its val-
leys and on the hills (around it). It was the original home of the Children of Israel.
l. 30. Later on, when Nebuchadnezzar sought the blood of Yaḥya, the Prophet, he massacred the Israelites and devastated Şafad as well. In short, it came into the possession of seventy nations.

Vol. III, p. 118.³

DESCRIPTION OF KAḤR NĀḤŌN, i.e. THE TOWN OF ŞAFAD

After the Deluge its founder was Sām, son of Nūḥ—peace be on him. At the time of Ya'qūb this town prospered so much that even 'bustling' (lit. 'whispering', *zaghzagha gibi*) towns, like Asqalān, Beisān, Filistīn, Ṭabaristān,⁴ and Jerusalem were not so prosperous as this city of Şafad.

Because all the Children of Israel originated from this town of Şafad, and had their ancient Temple there, it is like the Ka'ba to them, even to this day.

In the year⁵ Selīm Shāh took it from the despicable Circassians without a blow. The troops who could not go on to Egypt he stationed there as garrison, before himself proceeding.

It is still a *sanjāq* in the province (*eyālét*) of Şaida. It is administered by farming the public revenues. The *Mīr-i Livā* collects for the private purse of His Majesty 373,800 *yūk* of *aqċe*,⁶ one thousand rifles for the musketeers, and . . .⁷ *yūk* of *aqċe* for the Imperial Treasury. A sum of one hundred *kīsē*⁸

¹ With double spelling, Şafad and Şafat.

² Cf. Yāqūt, II, 653, s.v. Dair al-Jūdī.

³ These sections in smaller type are translated from Vol. III of the printed edition (ed. by Aḥmed Jewdet, Istanbul, A.H. 1314/A.D. 1896/97) p. 118.

⁴ In the printed edition طبرشان, an obvious mistake for طبرستان which in itself stands for طبرية Tiberias.

⁵ No year mentioned nor space left for it in the MS. Of course it should be A.H. 922 (Ibn Iyās, III, 101, l. 5 from bottom). In the diary of Sulṭān Selīm, published in Feridūn's *Münshē'āt* (German translation by Halil Edhem Pasha, *Tagebuch der ägyptischen Expedition des Sultans Selim*, I, p. 16) the occupation of Şafad is not mentioned at all. On the 9th Sha'bān, 923 (25th September, 1517) it was granted together with the sanjāqs of Jerusalem and Gaza to Jānbirdī al-Ghazzālī (*ibid.*, p. 27).

⁶ An *aqċe* had in the seventeenth century the value of 1/80 *girsh*.

⁷ No sum mentioned; neither is there a lacuna for its insertion.

⁸ A *kīsē* is equal to five hundred piastres.

per annum is left for him. Previously it belonged to the province of Damascus, and at the time of its 'delivery' [sc. from the Mamluks] it had one hundred ^{fo. 86^r.} and six *tīmārs*¹ and nine *xa'ānets*.² The holders of these were not required to go to war, but were put in charge of travellers and Moslem pilgrims visiting Jerusalem, Damascus, and the sea-port towns, to escort them hither and thither.³

There are regiment commanders and commandants of Janissaries in this city. Three hundred *aqçe* a year are for the office of the *qāḍī*. The sub-district (*nāhiya*) consists of four hundred villages, difficult of access ('āṣī). Every year the sum of six *kīsē* accrues from sentences passed.

The castle is ruined. It has neither a warden (*dixdār*), nor feudal retainers to defend it (*ḥiṣārjī*), nor a provincial colonel-commandant of the feudal levies (*ketkhuda yeri*), nor a colonel of the Janissaries (*yeniçeri āghāsi*), nor notables. But there are many Jews.

Each of the four orthodox rites has its *sheikh al-Islām*. There is also a Chief of the descendants of the Prophet (*naqīb al-ashrāf*).

Continued from Vol. III, p. 119.

When Sulṭān Selīm Yāvūz I took this city from the Sulṭān al-Ghaurī of the Egyptian Circassian dynasty, it had, according to the Register of the eunuch Sinān Pāsha, a *kharāj* tax of six times one hundred thousand taxpayers. To-day between seventy and eighty thousand Jews still live there.

The town consists entirely of Jewish houses. According to their vain belief a Jew cannot be considered anything but a 'black Jew' (*qara jifūt*) if he does not visit this city once in his life; or, if being unable to do so, he does not rub his face with its dust; or if he does not drink from its water; or does not fumigate himself with the (smoke of the) autumnal leaves of its trees.

Certain chronicles include the description of this city and the manner in which it is built together with its public edifices and buildings. In the volume about the Holy Pilgrimage I have written a detailed account of all shrines of the sons of Ya'qūb and Ismā'il there, well-known names and features; of the 'House of Sorrows' (*beit al-aḥzān*) of Ya'qūb, the Houses of Ifrāim, son of Yūsuf, Ishāq, Ismā'il, and Ayyūb, together with a thousand other notes.

The citadel rises high into the sky. It is a lofty castle, which is inside an hour's walk from the valleys and city below. On top of its mountain is a round masonry building, an ancient, wonderful castle. At the time of the conquest, al-Malik aḏ-Zāhir took it from the Franks only with great difficulty.⁴ He had ^{fo. 86^r.} it dismantled at several places.⁵ Nowadays goats and sheep are kept there ^{l. 40.}

¹ Fief with a yearly revenue of less than 20,000 *aqçe*.

² Fief with a yearly revenue of at least 20,000 *aqçe*.

³ See p. 140, n. 3.

⁴ On the 18th of Shawwāl 664 (23rd July 1266).

⁵ This is, of course, incorrect. Far from dismantling the walls, Baybars repaired the damages to the

during winter. But no human beings nor any buildings are there, though the suburb below is inhabited. The houses are built one above the other, over-looking places like the abyss of Ghayya in Hell.

The city has seven quarters with thirteen hundred inhabited houses, built of mud and lime, all being synagogues (?) (*ve jümlé mihrābdır*). Yet it is densely populated.

The mosque of Sheikh Ni'me is in the Market of Mālik. A lofty dome of elegant design covers a square enclosure. It is an imposing Friday mosque, measuring 50 feet each side. The interior is revetted with marble slabs to a height of a man. For two ells above the marble the surface is painted with fruit blossoms in a great variety of colours. The borders are wonderfully inscribed porcelain tiles.

fo. 86^r, The following verse is written on glazed Kāshān tiles over the prayer niche:
l. 45. 'But he only shall visit the Temples of God who believeth in God and the last day' (Sale: Qur'ān, Sūra IX. 18). Over the windows flanking (and written also on Kāshān tiles) is the verse (Qur'ān, Sūra LV. 26), 'Every creature which liveth on the earth is subject to decay'.

citadel caused by his own machines, as may be seen from the wording of his inscription embedded in a wall of the citadel. The Arabic text of this inscription, which has disappeared long ago, has been preserved by Nuwairī and Maqrizī (*Sulūk*, MS. Paris, Ar. vol. 726, fol. 172^v, l. 5 from bottom ff., trsl. by Quatremère, *Sultans mamelouks*, I b, p. 48). Maqrizī's text quoted above is abridged and shows slight changes in the remaining part of the text but as it has not been published in its original form, I transcribe it here according to Nuwairī's *Nihāyat al-'arab*, MS. Leyden, Or. 2 m, fo. 182^r. l. 3 from bottom ff.:

ولقد كتبنا في الزبور من بعد الذكر ان الارض يرثها عبادى الصالحون
(Qur'ān, XXI. 105) اوليك حزب الله الا ان حزب الله هم المفلحون (Qur'ān,
LVIII. 22) امر بتجديد هذه القلعة المحروسة وتحسينها وتكملة عمارتها وتحسينها
من خلصها من ايدي الفرنج الملاعين وردھا الى ايدي المسلمين ونقلھا من
مسكن اخوة الداوية الى سكن اخوة المؤمنين فاعادھا للايمان كما بداھا اول مرة
وجعلھا للكفار حسارة وحسرة ولم يزل بنفسه يجتهد ويجاهد حتى عوض عن
الكنائس بالجوامع والبيع بالمساجد وبذل الكفر بالايمان والناقوس بالآذان
والانجيل بالقران ووقف بنفسه التي هي انخى النفوس حتى حمل تراب

Sheikh Ni'me, the founder (*ṣāḥib*) of the mosque, lies buried outside the southern door.

Near this mosque is the *jāmi' al-mu'allaq* (the 'Overhanging' Mosque). Its lower part is empty, being used as store-rooms, which fact gave rise to the name. It is reached by a flight of seven stone steps from either end. It is a large, ancient Friday mosque.

The *jāmi' al-aḥmar* (Red Mosque) is lower down. It is the largest of all. The Commandant of the city, Şāleḥ Bey, had it repaired and restored so that it is now a place like paradise. It measures 120 feet in length and 80 feet in width. ^{fo. 86v, l. 1.} Its interior is solid masonry, domed, with groined vaults.

The dated inscription on the pulpit relating to its restoration runs as follows:¹

چه صالح کی یلقی الرضا عند القضا یاد الله مولاه الکریم

'O *Ṣāliḥ* who will meet with pleasure on judgement day, remembering Allah, thy generous Lord' (?) The date would be summed up by the words *lak ar-riḍa*, i.e. A.H. 1082.²

Over the prayer niche the Verse of the Throne (Sura II, v. 256) is written in very clear script. Under the mosque and sanctuary there is a cistern built with columns. In winter-time it is filled to the brim with water, which is drunk in July by all the populace to quench their thirst. It is collected rain-water, ice-cold, clear, and refreshing.

خنادقها وحجارتها منه ومن خواصه على الرؤوس سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين ومسترد
ضوال الدين مبيد التتار فاتح القلاع والحصون والامصار وارث الملك سلطان
العرب والعجم والترك اسكندر الزمان صاحب القران ابو الفتح بيبس قسيم
امير المؤمنين خلد الله سلطانه فمن صارت اليه هذه القلعه من ملوك الاسلام
ومن سكنها من المجاهدين المشاغرين على الدوام³ فليجعل لهذا السلطان فاتحها
ومجددها نصيبا من اجره ولا يخليه من الرحمة في سره وجهه في طول عمره
فانه جعلها دار يمن وامان بعد ان كانت دار كفر وطغيان وصار يقال عمر الله
صرحها بعد ان كان يقال عجل الله فتحها والعاقبة للمؤمنين الى يوم الدين .

¹ No attempt was made at correcting this faulty inscription which is no more *in situ*.

² $ا + ض + ر + ل + ا + ك + ل = 30 + 20 + 1 + 30 + 200 + 800 + 1 = 1082^{(1)}$.

³ MS.: الدواب

The length and breadth of this sanctuary is 100 feet. Over its southern entrance there is a towering minaret roofed with lead. The roofs of the mosque are plastered with lime.

fo. 86^v,
l. 5. The dated inscription over the entrance to the Sanctuary is:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم . امر بإنشاء هذا الجامع المبارك⁽¹⁾ مولانا السلطان
الملك الدنيا والدين سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين قاتل الكفرة والفجرة والمتمردين⁽¹⁾
سرير الصالح اقسام⁽¹⁾ امير المؤمنين وذلك في سنة اربع وسبعين وستمائة.¹

'In the name of the most merciful God. Ordered the building of this blessed Friday mosque our Lord the Sultān, al-Malik aḡ-Zāhir, [rukn] ad-dunya wa-d-dīn, the Sultān of Islām and Moslems, slayer of infidels, heretics and rebellious people, . . . Baybars aḡ-Ṣāliḡ, joint partner (qasīm) of the Commander of the Faithful, in the year 674.' (1275-6.)

There are, besides, the Insī Mosque, that of اثر طه *Athar Tāha*, which is that of the Forty Martyrs; and in the Ṣawābīn Quarter that of Sheikh 'Īsa; also the mosque in the Quarter of the Kurds, and the Sinimmāriyye Mosque,² called also the Mosque of the Medresé. Besides these Friday mosques (*jāmi'ler*) there are smaller ones (*mesājidler*) and six *medresés*, the first of which is the Sinimmāriyye with its large building, with large *waqfs*, one *Dār al-qurrā'*, and seven elementary schools for small boys.

fo. 86^v,
l. 10. There are also seven *zawāya* and six public baths; three of which are open all the year through. Near the palace of the Pāsha is the Ambergris Bath (*ḡammām-i 'amberiyye*⁽¹⁾). Honestly and truly it is *jemī'i* (?). Its walls are amber-coloured, all the way round. Its deep, bubbling, boiling water, its temperature, and architecture are all very fine. (A similar public bath is that

¹ I read on a squeeze of this inscription, kept in the Records Office of the Department of Antiquities, the following:

(1) بسملة. امر بإنشاء هذا الجامع المبارك مولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر

(2) entirely obliterated and the beginning of (3)

... الكفرة والمشرکین قاتل⁽¹⁾ الخوارج (4) والمتمردين بیبرس الصالح[حی

وذلك في سنة اربع وسبعين وستمائة. two to three words missing

The translation of Evliya's text has been corrected accordingly.

² Written Sitmār.

of Güzel Hissar in Āidīn, known as the 'Bath of the Sulṭān'.) There is another bath, the 'new one'. Yet this is not so richly adorned. Still another bath was built by public donations, while one bath is now closed to the public.

There are three caravanserais. One, the Pāsha Khān, is below the citadel. It is a large caravanserai, with an iron gate like that of a castle, and square in plan. Right round it measures six hundred paces. It stands four stories high. Previously twelve thousand Jews lived in it. But at present they number only two thousand.

The city has three covered markets, two of which are unoccupied, their shops being locked up. They have now become guest-houses for travellers. Yet the market of Sinān Pāsha, near the mosque of Sheikh Ni'me, is flourishing and in repair (*ma'mūr ve müzeyyendir*). A flight of fifteen stone steps leads to it. At both ends it is provided with iron doors. It consists of twenty shops, all built of stone. Besides these, there are another hundred and twenty shops in this city. All contain valuable things, and all are built of masonry, their quoins being of white stone. There is no wooden building whatsoever. Yet the doors of the houses are richly adorned and strongly made.

The magnificent palace, airy and elevated, is that of the Pāsha. It consists of seventy rooms richly adorned, and complete. It is reserved as the governor's residence. Over the central hall the following inscription is placed:

الا يا دارى لا يدخلك ظلمى⁽¹⁾ ولا يندرک صاحبک الزمانى⁽¹⁾
فنعم الدار تأوى كل ضيف⁽¹⁾ اذا جاء الضيف به ضاق المكانى⁽¹⁾

*'My House, oppression never enter thee!
Misfortune never do thy owner wrong!
A charming house that shelters every guest,
And grows more spacious as each guest appears.'*

وهذه عمارت سنة ٩٨٠ محمد بن برى سنة ٩٨٠ لمولانا⁽¹⁾

fo. 86^v,
l. 20.

عزنا السلطان الملك [lacuna] الظاهر ابو سعيد⁽¹⁾

'This is the building [A.H. 980] of Muḥammad b. Peri, [A.H. 980]. Honour be to our Lord, the Sulṭān al-Malik [lacuna] aḡ-Zāhir Abū Sa'īd.'

The gardens of this town of Ṣafad are (mostly) olive groves and mulberry plantations. Because it is situated on a high mountain its climate is healthy and agreeable. Its waters are exceedingly sweet. There are two springs of al-Malik aḡ-Zāhir, which flow from the hills about the city.

Yet, because of oppression, the inhabitants of the city are poor. The Jews are more numerous than the Mohammedans. The capitation tax from all the seven Jewish quarters is paid for nine thousand. With previously seventy thousand Jews living here, this was a magnificent city. Now it is built on terraces, the houses are still inhabited, but there is no outstanding person amongst them (*beni ādemdén bir ferd-i āferīd*). All have moved off to the city of Saloniki.

fo. 86^v, In former times Şafad boasted of three thousand felt manufactories, of which
1. 25. only forty have survived. The felt of Şafad was known all over the inhabited world.

The reason for the large number of the Jewish inhabitants is this, that it was the original home of the Children of Israel, and, comparison apart, is their *Ka'ba*. In this *beit al-aḥzān* ('House of Sorrows') all the Prophets and their children lived and grew up here; here too they are buried. In their chronicles there is a book of seven volumes treating of Şafad.

Above the Jewish quarter there are two Kurdish quarters. All their people wear striped cloaks, *'abāyas*. There are few boys and girls there. The women folk wear a white sheet [sc. of cloth over their clothing].

Of the renowned kinds of food and drink, pure white bread, olives, and honey may especially be mentioned. Their handicraft and manufactures are *kilīms*, felt and prayer carpets, which are famous. May Allah increase them!¹

DESCRIPTION OF THE SHRINE OF ŞAFAD

fo. 86^v, First comes the Sanctuary of the shrine of Ya'qūb. When parting from
1. 30. Yūsuf, he shut himself up and lived in seclusion in the cave known as *beit al-aḥzān* ('House of Sorrows'), which is a huge cave south of the citadel. It forms a mosque, yet it is not built. Its prayer niche (*miḥrāb*), points to Jerusalem. However, according to the calculation of the 'zones' it is also directed towards the *Ka'ba*. For whosoever goes from this city of Şafad to the *Ka'ba*, goes first straight to Jerusalem, thence to the 'Aqaba of Egypt and thence along the coast of the Red Sea—direct to the noble Mecca.

From remote times the *miḥrāb* of the 'House of Sorrows', carved into the rock, has pointed towards Jerusalem.² But no traces of any constructions whatsoever are there, all being caves. Outside are gardens, like the earthly paradise of *Irm* (sc. *dhāt al-'imād*; cf. Qur'ān, LXXXIX. 6), which was made by
fo. 86^v, the hand of God Almighty. It is also a *tekké* of the Prophets of Allah (i.e.
1. 35.

¹ *zādaka-llāh* for *zādaha-llāh*!

² Cf. the plan of the cave published in this *Quarterly*, Vol. II, p. 129.

Ya'qūb?). In its garden, all round it, several thousand great saints, pious and godly people, sheikhs and notables, are buried.

Over the narrow, low entrance to the 'House of Sorrows', facing eastward, is an oblong, white marble slab let into the rock, on which the following is written. Inscription:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. فلما انجاء البشير القاه على وجهه فارتد بصيرا.
 امر بعمارت⁽¹⁾ هذا المزار المباركة⁽¹⁾ على ضريح سيد⁽¹⁾ الذي بقميص حاجور⁽¹⁾
 الصديق الى ابيه يعقوب عليهم السلام من العبد الفقير الى الله المقر السيفي
 فوزي اولاد ادهمي التمني المعظمه بقلعه⁽¹⁾ صفت المحروسة⁽¹⁾ (three words)
 الادهمي رحمت⁽¹⁾ الله عليه بتاريخ شهر ربيع الاول سنة خمس وعشرين⁽¹⁾
 وثمان ومائة⁽¹⁾.

This door leads into a huge cave used as a mosque. All four sides of it are fo. 86^v, embellished with tambourines, kettle drums, axes, cymbals, and drums (*tabil-* l. 40^o. *ler*). On either side of the *mihrāb* there are banners of Ya'qūb and of 'Abbās, on a pair of poles. It is a mosque embellished with various lamps, candle lights, and oil lamps. On Monday and Friday nights, as well as on every other holy night, all the sheikhs of the town and the Sheikh [sc. of the order of] 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gīlānī (who is *serčeshme*), would come with all their dervishes at nightfall to this mosque. They would play the tambourines and perform the *zikr*, thus enflaming the hearts of all those who love Allah, leaving them amazed. Such is the time-honoured ceremony.

Behind the mosque to the south is the door to yet another cave. This is the 'House of Sorrows' (*beit al-aḥzān*), where Ya'qūb used to sit in a cell (*hujra*) like a window bay. It is a spacious cave. In the four sides there are twelve fo. 86^v, small caves each with a small opening. Within them the twelve 'respected' l. 45^o. (*dhu'l-iḥtirām*) sons of Ya'qūb used to retire (sc. for meditation). On entering it one is amazed. There is an odour of sanctity (*rūḥāniyyét*), which perfumes the mind of the pious visitor (*āshiqān-i zuvvār*) with a fragrance like musk and ambergris.

It was in this cave that Ya'qūb wept for forty years over the loss of Yūsuf,

¹ No translation of this badly corrupted text is given as the correct transcription and translation of this inscription has been already published, cf. L. A. Mayer, 'Satura Epigraphica Arabica', II, QDAP, II, p. 127

until he became blind. The stones were pierced by hollows caused by the constant drip of his tears. The chronicles mention his sorrow.

On this spot the faithful Jubrā'il descended to Ya'qūb. By the will of Allah fo. 87^r, the rock was split asunder at the place through which he entered. It is a l. 1. polished, shining rock, as if it has just left the hand of the sculptor. This is a place which ought to be seen, as it can be neither explained nor described.

Couplet:

شیندن کی بو دمانده دیده
مضوننجه ید قدرت اثار برقیادر

*'You who pray, perceive the precious thing you see
Is living rock, the work of God's almighty hand.'*

In this cave is the shrine of Khidr (= Elijah) and that of Dānyāl (= Daniel). In fact, Nebuchadnezzar, when devastating this country, found Dānyāl in this cave and took him as a prisoner to Persia.

Outside the cave, to the right-hand side of the one which is used as a mosque, fo. 87^r, is a huge cavern. According to the chronicle *ḥusn al-muḥāḍara* ten out of l. 5. the thirteen children of Ya'qūb are buried here. First comes the shrine of Yahūdā, yet it is doubtful whether he was a prophet.

Dūvīl was not a Prophet; while they are at variance as to the prophetic office of Sammūl. Mas-hara' again was not a prophet, nor were Zāhēl and Dārem, [lacuna] though the latter was a learned and a wise man. Lāwī was not a prophet, neither was 'Azarya nor Radām. All these children of Ya'qūb are buried in this cave, yet two sons of his, Mayā'el and Hesyān, having been already mentioned with their villages, have been enumerated there. Yet Ya'qūb, Ishāq, Yūsuf, and Ibn Yamīn lie buried in Egypt. These rest at Hebron, near Jerusalem (!). Besides, there are buried in this cave of *Beit al-aḥzān* the sons of Ismā'il, whose names are as follows: Masma', Demā, Tābit, Mash, Idbīl, Qais, and Mu'īna. All of them are buried in one cave.

Yet the cave under the citadel is called the 'Grotto of Qeṭūr' (or: 'the dripping grotto'). Again, sons of Ismā'il have been buried here, viz. Qeṭūr, fo. 87^r, 'Azarya, Keda, Fetdemā, and Tīmā. The entrance to the cave is closed. Yet l. 10. they are visited. Their visitors are mostly Jews, who come thither very often. They do this because it is written in their chronicles.

(To be continued)

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